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# NARRATIVE

OF A

# MISSION TO CENTRAL AFRICA

PERFORMED IN THE YEARS 1850-51,

UNDER THE ORDERS AND AT THE EXPENSE OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT.

B. 100G

BY THE LATE

JAMES RICHARDSON,

AUTHOR OF "TRAVELS IN THE GREAT DESERT OF SAHARA."

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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# PREFACE.

THE task of the Editor of these volumes has been principally one of arrangement and compression. The late lamented Mr. James Richardson left behind him a copious journal, comprised in eight small but closely-written volumes, besides a vast heap of despatches and scattered memoranda; and, at first sight, it seemed to me that it would be necessary to melt the whole down into a narrative in the third person. On attentively studying the materials before me, however, I perceived that Mr. Richardson had written in most places with a view to publication; and that, had he lived, he would soon have brought what, on a cursory examination, appeared a mere chaotic mass, into a shape that would have accorded with his own idea of a book of travels. Such being the case, I thought it best—in order to leave the stamp of

authenticity on this singular record of enterprise —to do little more than the author would himself have done. In the form of a diary, therefore—written sometimes with Oriental *naïveté*—the reader will here find what may be called the domestic history of one of the most successful expeditions undertaken for the exploration of Central Africa. I believe it would have been possible to get up a work of more temporary interest from the same materials; but this could only have been done by sacrificing truthfulness of detail. In the present form, Mr. Richardson's journal will always remain as an authority on the geography and present condition of a large portion of the Saharan desert, hitherto unvisited, at any rate undescribed.

As will be seen, the Mission was accompanied by two German gentlemen, Drs. Barth and Overweg—the former of whom I had the pleasure of meeting in Egypt, after his enterprising ride along the coast of Libya. They are still in Central Africa, pushing their excursions on all sides, from Bornou into unknown tracts; and the accounts they may publish on their return will be anxiously looked for. The great traverse of the Saharan desert, however, with all its vicis-

situdes and dangers, the physical aspect of that wonderful region, and the manners of the various tribes that inhabit it, will, in the present volume, be found to be fully described—not, it is true, with much attempt at literary ornament, but in the vivid though simple language in which a man sets down impressions which he has just received. I have endeavoured to remove all the faults which may be supposed to have arisen from haste or carelessness, and have necessarily re-written several passages, and passed a correcting pen over the whole manuscript. But I think I may say with confidence, that there is no observation or statement in the following pages which cannot be justified by a reference to the original journals and scattered memoranda.

To me this simple record of daily occurrences seems highly interesting. It divides itself, naturally, into a succession of parts of unequal importance. First comes an account of the journey to Mourzuk, the capital of Fezzan, containing the traverse of the frightful Hamadah or plateau which separates that province from the regency of Tripoli. Then we have a residence at Mourzuk itself, Mr. Richardson being obliged to wait the arrival from Ghât of an

escort of Tuarick chieftains, with whom he had partly made acquaintance during a former trip in the desert. This escort appeared after some delay; and the Mission proceeded across the Fezzan plains to the independent state of Ghât, through a very wild and picturesque country. At this point began, if not the most arduous, at any rate the most dangerous, and at the same time the most novel, part of the journey. Mr. Richardson had undertaken, on his way to Soudan Proper (his first destination), to pass by the hitherto unexplored kingdom of Aheer or Asben, situated towards the southern limits of the Sahara. The march of the Mission across the deserts that lie between Ghât and that territory was rendered exciting by continual reports of danger from pursuing freebooters of the Haghar and Azgher tribes; but the enemy were outstripped, and no actual attack took place until the first inhabited districts of Aheer were reached. Here some lawless tribes levied black-mail on the caravan, which was then permitted to proceed, though in doubt and alarm, until it arrived under the long-expected protection of Sheikh En-Noor, one of the great chiefs of the Kailouee tribes, at his town, or rather encamp-

ment, of Tintalous. Mr. Richardson's residence at this place was long and tedious. He suffered, besides, from the extortionate disposition of the Sheikh or Sultan, who, however, after considerable exactions, became his friend. This Saharan character is brought out by a succession of amusing touches. But our traveller was impatient to proceed, and seems to have hailed with delight the announcement that the great Salt-Caravan, which annually transports the necessary condiment from Bilma *viâ* Aheer to the south, was about to start, and that the Sheikh and the Christians were to accompany it. Some further disappointments occurred; but at length the Mission proceeded to Damerghou, whence Drs. Barth and Overweg went, one to Maradee and the other to Kanou, whilst Mr. Richardson proceeded alone to Zinder, situated in the province of Damagram. Here he was well received by the Sarkee, or Governor, and he dilates with well-founded exultation on his escape from the insolent and rapacious Tuaricks. Sad sights, however, connected with the slave-trade, checked his delight. During his stay the Sarkee went out in person to hunt down the subjects of his own sovereign,

that he might pay his debts by selling them into captivity. After another considerable delay Mr. Richardson was enabled to start once more, and being obliged to change his original plan proceeded to Kuka, the capital of Bornou, by way of Minyo. Shortly after leaving Gurai, the chief town of that province, the unfortunate traveller found his strength to be gradually giving way. He had already previously complained of the heat and fatigue, but did not seem to have felt any great alarm. Now, however, the climate seems to have told upon him with sudden and fatal violence. His last moments are described in a letter from his fellow-traveller, Dr. Barth, who hastened to the spot with laudable energy as soon as he heard of the melancholy catastrophe that had taken place. Mr. Richardson died at Ungurutua, about six days' journey from Kuka, the capital of Bornou, on the 4th of March, 1851, eleven months after his departure from Tripoli.

I have observed that the Mission, the first transactions of which are described in these volumes, is entitled to be called successful. Although the original promoter and director died just as he was on the point of reaching

the termination of his journey, his enterprising companions, Drs. Barth and Overweg, seem to have carried on and developed admirably the plan at first laid down. If they be spared to return to Europe they will bring home, no doubt, geographical information so valuable that all Mr. Richardson's predictions will be found to be amply fulfilled. As it is, however, the object of our practical fellow-countryman may be said to have been accomplished. He did not lay so much stress on the accurate determination of latitude and longitude, of the heights of mountains and the courses of valleys, as on matters that come more nearly home to human sympathies. The abolition of the system of slavery—many affecting illustrations of which will be found in these volumes—seems to have engaged the chief of his attention. It was with this benevolent object that he originally turned his attention to Africa: and he had become convinced that the best means of effecting it was to encourage legitimate traffic between Europe and the great nurseries of slaves. Among other things, he wished to show the possibility of entering into treaties of amity and commerce with the most important states of Central Africa; and

although these treaties may not turn out to be of great immediate utility, it is always worth while that future explorers should know, that on the borders of Lake Tchad there is a power which professes to be united with England in formal ties of friendship, and that the Sultan of Bornou has never shown any disposition to break his promises or secede from his engagements. As to the question, whether legitimate commerce can advantageously be carried on across the Sahara, and substituted for the frightful traffic in human beings, I do not consider that it is as yet decided; but Mr. Richardson's researches will throw great light on this interesting subject.

I do not intend here to attempt an account of the services rendered by Mr. Richardson to the sciences of geography and ethnography during his useful career. At some future period, no doubt, this task will be performed; and it will not fail to be added, that he was always impelled by a higher motive than the mere satisfaction of curiosity or ambition. A profound conviction that something might be done towards ameliorating the condition of the African nations, if we were only better acquainted with

them, seems to have early possessed him. This it was that sustained and guided his footsteps; and all who knew him unite in testifying that he concealed beneath a pleasant, cheerful exterior, the character of a Christian gentleman, and an ardent crusader against the worst form of oppression which has ever been put in practice. The hope that the public will unite in this opinion must certainly assist in consoling his widow for the loss which she has sustained. Mrs. Richardson is alluded to in the narrative throughout. It is necessary, therefore, to say, that that lady remained in Tripoli until the news of her bereavement reached her, and that she then returned to England to promote the erection of this best monument to her husband's memory.

I have now only to add an account written by Dr. Barth (dated April 3, 1851) of the death of Mr. Richardson, in a letter addressed to Mr. Crowe, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul-General at Tripoli. The German traveller, as will be seen in the second volume of this work, had separated from his English companions on the plains of Damerghou, and proceeded to prosecute other researches, the results of which will be looked for with great interest:—

"It was on the 25th of March," he says, "that I heard accidentally from a Shereef, whom I met on the road, the sad news that my companion had died, about twenty days before, in a place called Ungurutua, six days' journey before reaching Kuka, when I hurried on as fast as my horse would allow in order to secure his papers and effects from being lost or destroyed.

"I now shall send you a short account of Mr. Richardson's death, as far as I was able to make out the circumstances from his servant. Mr. Richardson is said to have left Zinder in the best health, though it is probable that he felt already very weak while he was there: for, according to the man whom he hired in Zinder as his dragoman, he had, while there, a dream that a bird came down from the sky, and when sitting on the branch of a tree, the branch broke off and the bird fell down to the earth. Mr. Richardson being very much affected by this dream, went to a man who from a huge book explains to the people their dreams. On the man's telling him that his dream meant death, he seems really to have anticipated that he would not reach the principal object of his journey. But, nevertheless, he seemed to be quite well, mounting even the horse which the Governor of Zinder had made him a present of, as far as Minyo, when he begged the Governor to give him a camel, which he mounted thenceforward. He felt notoriously ill in Kadalebria, eleven or twelve days' journey from here (Kuka); and he is said by his servant to have taken different kinds of medicines, one after the other: from which you may conclude that he

did not know himself what was his illness. Mr. Richardson never could bear the sun, and the sun being very powerful at this time of the year, it must have affected him very much. I think this to be the chief reason of his death; at least, he seems not to have had a regular fever. He was happy to reach the large town of Rangarvia after a journey of three short days, and had the intention of returning from here directly to Tripoli, without touching at Kuka and the low, hot plain of Bornou, which he was affrightened of very much. He offered two hundred mahboubs for a guide to conduct him directly to the road to Bilma; but there being no road from here, and no guide having been found, it was necessary first to go to Kuka.

"Mr. Richardson, therefore, seems to have taken strong medicines; in consequence of which, in the evening of the third day of their halt at Rangarvia, after having taken a walk through the town, he felt well enough to fix his outset for the next morning. But this day being rather a long one, and the sun being very powerful, he became very tired and unwell; and the more so as, notwithstanding his illness, he had not left off drinking milk, even on his camel, mixing some brandy with it. Having recovered a little during the night, he moved on the next morning, but ordered a halt about noon, on account of his weakness. Having started again at sunset, they encamped at midnight. The next day, after a short journey, they reached the Wady Mettaka. Mr. Richardson seemed to feel much better, and drank milk and a little jura, besides rice. From this place, on the last

day of Kebia-el-awel, the caravan, after but a two-hours' march, reached the village called Ungurutua, when Mr. Richardson soon felt so weak that he anticipated his death; and leaving the hut (where he was established) for his tent, told his dragoman, Mahommed Bu Saad, that he would die. Being consoled by him that his illness was of no consequence, he assured him several times that he had no strength at all; and indeed his pulse ceased almost to beat. He began, then, to rub his feet with vinegar, and applied the same several times to his head and shoulders. After which, in the absence of his servants, he poured water also over himself; so that, when they returned after a few moments, they found him quite wet. To counteract the bad effect of this proceeding, they began to rub him with a little oil. In the evening he took a little food, and tried to sleep; but notwithstanding that he seems to have taken something to bring on sleep, he threw himself restless from one side to the other, calling his wife several times by her name. After having walked out of his tent with the assistance of his servant, he ordered tea, and remained restless on his bed. When it was past midnight, his old dragoman, Yusuf Moknee, who watched in his tent, made some coffee, in order to keep himself awake; upon which Mr. Richardson demanded a cup of coffee for himself: but his hand being so weak that he could scarcely raise the cup, he said to Moknee: '*Tergamento Ufa,*'—'Your office as dragoman is finished;' and repeated several times, with a broken voice, '*Forza mafishe, forza mafishe le-koul,*'—'I have no strength, I

have no strength, I tell you,' at the same time laying Mahommed's hand on his shoulder. Feeling death approaching, he got up in a sitting posture, being supported by Mahommed, and soon expired, after three times deep breathing. He was entirely worn out, and died quietly, about two after midnight, Tuesday, 4th March (Jumed-el-awel), without the least struggle. His servant then called into the tent the other people and the Kashalla, or officer of the Sheikh, who had come along with them from Zinder, in order to be witness, and while wrapping the body of the deceased in three shirts which they had cut up, ordered the people of the village to dig a grave for him. They then shut up whatever of the luggage of Mr. Richardson was not locked up, and prepared everything for their journey to Kuka. Early in the morning they lifted the body, wrapped up as it was, upon Mr. Richardson's carpet, and carried him to his grave, which had been dug in the shade of a large gaw, close to the village, to the depth of four feet. Having then covered his head and breast with a very large tabah, so as to protect it from every side, they covered the body with earth, and had the grave well secured. I have spoken several times with Haj Beshir that it might be well taken care of, and I am sure the grave of the traveller, who sacrificed his life for his great object, will be respected. I send you with this first kafila all Mr. Richardson's papers and his journal, which is kept till the 21st February, consisting of six reams, and his vocabularies, not finished, four reams, with Yusuf's journal, as well as

all his other papers or letters. I have taken out only the letters of recommendation of the Mission and the papers concerning the treaty to be made, as well as a letter from Lousou, one of the Tuaricks, and another from Ibrahim, the Governor of Zinder, to the Queen, which I shall enclose in my report to Government. I send you, besides, an authentic list of all the objects found in Mr. Richardson's possession, as it has been made up on the things being deposited with Haj Beshir.

"I beg you to assure Mrs. Richardson of my most sincere sympathy, and that I hope she will find a good deal of consolation in the rich journals of the deceased."

I have given the above narrative in the words of Dr. Barth; but must direct the reader's attention to vol. ii. p. 261, where he will find that the whole account of the prophetic dream is distorted by the very unauthentic medium of Oriental report. There is no reason to suppose that Mr. Richardson was unusually affected by this circumstance, although any dismal suggestion is likely to disturb a person of sensibility placed in a dangerous position. The remaining facts, as they seem confirmed by concurrent testimony, may be taken as a sufficiently accurate account of the death of this lamented traveller.

From the statements which have from time to time appeared in the press, the public are already aware, that the presents and the treaty intended for the Sheikh of Bornou were duly presented and accepted, and that the boat which caused Mr. Richardson so much anxiety on the road was ultimately launched, as he desired, on lake Tchad, and employed in the survey of that celebrated piece of water. It is unnecessary here to notice the results of this survey, or of the explorations subsequently undertaken by Messrs. Barth and Overweg. These gentlemen, it is to be hoped, will be more fortunate than their colleague, and return to give in person an account of their exertions and discoveries.

I shall conclude by expressing my hope that Mr. Richardson's reputation will not suffer from the way in which I have superintended the publication of his remains, and my regret that I am not able to do justice to the great services which he has rendered to philology by his copious collections of vocabularies of the languages, both of the Sahara and of the various kingdoms of Central Africa.

BAYLE ST. JOHN.

*London, January* 1853.

P.S. It may be as well to mention that the extensive collections of vocabularies made by Mr. Richardson are now preserved at the Foreign Office, together with specimens of translations from the Scriptures. All these collections are extremely valuable, but especially those of the Bornou language, which were much wanted.

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TRIPOLI, started 23. March 1850
explored 2 to 24 Febr. 1850.)
Gharian Mts &
Mizda
Ra. of Roman ornaments
Tableland of the Hamadah
Sukna
Wadi el Hasre
Wadi Telegerou
Ghat, 17. to 24 July
Mourzuk, 6 May to 12 June 1850
Tessowe
Jebel Terçeen
Jebel Tarsinokeh
Tegerry
Tadent
Well Bisel
Uninhabited
Between Murzúk and Tintahoos all inhabited places are named. + Places where water is found
Well Asaou
W. Tafesasset
tract.
Taghajeel 22 May
Tarai
Selaisheed
Tintaghoodai
AIR
Tintalous, 4 Sept. to end of Nov 1850.
Mts of the Baghazen
AZBEN
Aghadez
(If Barth's journey from T.T. to A. and back, 4 Oct. to 5 Nov 1850.)
Bilma
Damerghou end of Dec. (?) 1850
Zinder Gaires
GUBER
Sokkatou
Katchna
Kano, Feb & March 1851
Kanem
Kouka, Barth & Aug. Overweg 1 May 1851
Karnak
Begharmi
Sheru
Yacoba
Mosfeia
Mendefi Peak
Musgow
Kantcha
OUTLINE OF PART OF
AFRICA
showing
the progress of the Mission

# NARRATIVE

OF

# A MISSION TO CENTRAL AFRICA.

## CHAPTER I.

Origin of the Mission—Its Objects and Plan—Preparations—Arrival at Tripoli—Prussian Colleagues—Necessary Delay—The Boat for Lake Tchad—Wind-bound—Anxieties at Tripoli—Correspondence with Mourzuk and Ghât—Circular Letter of Izhet Pasha—Composition of the Caravan—An aristocratic Interpreter—A Mohammedan Toper—The Chaouches—Free Blacks returning to their Countries—Marabout—Camel-drivers—Rate of Desert-travelling—Trade of Tripoli with the Interior—Slavery—Caravans from Central Africa—Details on Commerce—Promotion of legitimate Traffic—Spread of Civilisation.

SINCE my return from a first tour of exploration in the Great Sahara I had carefully revolved in my mind the possibility of a much greater undertaking, namely, a political and commercial expedition to some of the most important kingdoms of Central Africa. The plan appeared to me feasible; and when I laid it in all its details before her Majesty's Government, they determined, after mature consideration, to empower me to carry it out. Two objects, one principal, but necessarily kept somewhat

in the background—the abolition of the slave-trade; one subsidiary, and yet important in itself—the promotion of commerce by way of the Great Desert; appeared to me, and to the distinguished persons who promoted the undertaking, of sufficient magnitude to justify considerable sacrifices. Much preliminary discussion took place; but the impediments and difficulties that naturally start up at the commencement of any enterprise possessing the character of novelty were gradually overcome, and in the summer of 1849 it was generally known that I was about to proceed, by way of Tripoli and the Sahara, and the hitherto unexplored kingdom of Aheer, to endeavour to open commercial relations and conclude treaties with any native power so disposed, but especially with the Sultan of Bornou. It was not thought necessary, however, to surround my Mission with any circumstances of diplomatic splendour; and it was still in the character of Yakōb—a name already known throughout the greater portion of the route intended to be traversed —that I proposed to resume my intercourse with the Moors, the Fezzanees, the Tibboos, the Tuaricks, and other tribes and peoples of the desert and the countries beyond.

The various preparations for the expedition occupied a considerable time before I could leave Europe; but I shall pass over all account of these, and enter as soon as possible on the plain narrative of my journey. We reached Tripoli on January

the 31st, 1850, having come circuitously by way of Algeria and Tunis. Divers reasons, on which it is unnecessary to enlarge, had prevented us from adopting a more direct route. However, there had, properly speaking, been no time lost, and we had still to look forward to inevitable delays. An expedition of the kind we were about to undertake cannot be performed in a hurry, especially in Africa. In that continent everything is carried on in a deliberate manner. The climate is in itself suggestive of procrastination; and no one who has there had to do with officials, even of our own country, until he has himself felt the enervating influence of the atmosphere, can fail to have been held in ludicrous suspense between indignation and surprise.

It must here be mentioned that, associated with me in this expedition, were two Prussian gentlemen, Drs. Barth and Overweg, who had volunteered to accompany me in my expedition in the character of scientific observers.

The political and commercial nature of my Mission by no means excluded such auxiliaries. It was desirable that every advantage should be taken of this opportunity to explore Central Africa in every point of view; and when the proposition came to me under the sanction of Chevalier Bunsen, and received the approval of her Majesty's Government, I could not but be delighted. It was arranged that these gentlemen should travel at the expense and

under the protection of Great Britain, and that their reports should be duly forwarded to the Foreign Office.

Drs. Barth and Overweg, with European impetuosity, eager at once to grapple with adventure and research, had pushed on whilst I waited for final instructions from Lord Palmerston. They had arrived at Tripoli about twelve days before me, and, as I afterwards learned, had usefully and pleasantly occupied their time in excursions to the neighbouring mountains, which I had previously visited and examined on my way to Ghadamez.

We learned on landing, that a good deal of the anxiety I had felt on account of my slow progress from England had been thrown away. Our arms, instruments, and stores, had not yet arrived from Malta. However, they were promised for an early date, and the hospitable reception afforded us by Mr. Consul-general Crowe, as well as the knowledge that a vast number of small details of preparation could be immediately commenced, contributed to console us.

Among the things expected, and which arrived in due time, was a boat built by order of the Government in Malta dockyard. It was sent in two sides, and I wished to carry it in that state. But this proved impossible, and just before starting we were compelled to saw each side into two pieces, which were to be carried slung in nets upon a

couple of powerful camels. This boat was expressly intended for the navigation of Lake Tchad.*

It was universally admired at Tripoli; and, as it will be useless to bring it back, will form a most acceptable present for the Sultan of Bornou. I cannot omit to notice, in passing, the courtesy and attention of the authorities of Malta with whom I have been in communication; they have all done their best to forward the objects of the Mission.

A good deal of the delay that took place at Tripoli arose from causes over which it was impossible to exert any control, and principally from the bad weather, which cut off all communication with Malta. We used to go about relating the anecdote of Charles V. illustrative of the inhospitable seasons of this coast. "Which are the best ports of Barbary?" inquired the Emperor of the famous Admiral Dorea. "The months of June, July, and August," was the reply.

Whilst waiting for the winds to waft us so many desirable things, we actively engaged in hiring camels, procuring servants, and otherwise making ready for a start. The details of all these preparations, which cost me prodigious anxiety, as I was obliged to study at the same time efficiency and economy, are described in a voluminous mass of correspondence; but I should not think of presenting

* It has since been launched under the British flag, and has proved useful in the examination of the shores of the great lake of Central Africa.—EDITOR.

them to the general public, which will be satisfied probably to know that at length everything was found to be in due order, and our long-expected departure was fixed for the 30th of March.

I had taken care, immediately on my arrival at Tripoli, to write to Mr. Gagliuffi, the British Consul at Mourzuk, announcing my approach and enclosing a despatch from the Foreign Office. Moreover I had requested this gentleman at once to send to Ghât for an escort of Tuaricks, so that we might not be unnecessarily detained in Fezzan; and to suggest that the Sheikhs should be assembled by the time we arrived, that the treaty I had to propose to them might be discussed. My former visit to this place will in some respects pave the way. Throughout the Turkish provinces of Tripoli and Fezzan a circular letter given to us by Izhet Pasha, and the letters of the Bey of Tunis in other quarters, will no doubt prove of some assistance, although such documents must lose much of their influence in the very secluded districts through which we shall be compelled to pass. After all, we must trust principally to our own tact, to the good will of the natives, and to that vague respect of English power which is beginning to spread in the Sahara.

The composition of our caravan will of course fluctuate throughout the whole line of route; but I may as well mention the most important personages who were to start with me from Tripoli. Setting aside my colleagues, Barth and Overweg, there was,

in the first place, the interpreter, Yusuf Moknee, a man really of some importance among his people, but considering himself with far too extravagant a degree of respect. He is the son of the famous Moknee, who was Governor of the province of Fezzan during the period of the Karamanly Bashaws. He has squandered his father's estate in intemperate drinking. Nevertheless I have been recommended to take him as a dragoman, and give him a fair trial, as his only vice really seems to be attachment to the bottle. I suspect he will not find many opportunities of indulging his propensity in the Sahara; so that, as long as he is *en route*, he may prove to be that phenomenon, a man without a fault! At any rate I must be content with him, especially as he is willing to sign a contract promising to be a pattern of sobriety! There is no one else in Tripoli so suitable for my purpose. He is a handsome, dark-featured fellow, and when in his bright-blue gown, white burnoose, and elegant fez, makes a really respectable figure. I must dress him up well for state occasions. Even in the desert one is often judged by the livery of one's servants.

The individuals next in importance to Moknee are, perhaps, the Chaouches, as they are called here—Arab cavaliers, who are to act as janissaries. There is one big fellow for me, and one little fellow for the Germans. How they will behave remains to be seen; but I suspect they will give us some trouble. Then

there are a number of free blacks from Tunis, some married, others not, who are to return to their homes in Soudan, Bornou, and Mandara, under our protection. Some of these have agreed to travel partly on their own account, or nearly so, whilst others will be paid and act as servants. One of them, named Ali, is a fine dashing young fellow. They are very unimportant people here, but as we advance on our route will no doubt prove of some service, especially when we fairly enter upon the Black Countries. A marabout of Fezzan also accompanies us, and our camel-drivers are from the same country. They arrived with a caravan from Mourzuk, and we were some time detained by the necessity of allowing them and their beasts to rest before recommencing their march over the very arduous country that lies between this and the confines of Fezzan.

Our progress will necessarily be slow, as all travelling is in the desert. Camels can rarely exceed three miles an hour, and often make but two. We may calculate their average progress at two miles and a half, so that the reader will be pleased to bear in mind, that when I speak of a laborious day of twelve hours, he must not imagine us to have advanced more than thirty miles.

Before commencing the narrative of my journey, it may be as well to introduce a few observations on the commerce at present carried on with the interior by way of Tripoli. In addition to the mere acquisition of geographical, statistical, and other infor-

mation, I look upon the great object of our mission to be the promotion, by all prudent means, of legitimate trade. This will be the most effectual way of putting a stop to that frightful system by which all the Central Provinces of Africa are depopulated, and all the littoral regions demoralized. When the negro races begin to make great profits by exporting the natural products of their country, they will then, and perhaps then only, cease to export their brethren as slaves. On this account, therefore, I take great interest in whatever has reference to caravan trade.

There are now four general routes followed by the trading caravans from the Barbary coast, leading to four different points of that great belt of populous country that stretches across Central Africa,—viz. to Wadaï, Bornou, Soudan, and Timbuctoo.

Wadaï sends to the coast at Bengazi a biennial caravan, accompanied by a large number of slaves. The chief articles of legitimate traffic are elephants' teeth and ostrich feathers. This route is a modern ramification of interior trade, and was opened only during the last century. It is calculated that the exports of Bengazi form one-third of the whole of those of Tripoli.

Bornou sends to the coast by way of Fezzan, I am sorry to say, chiefly slaves; but a quantity of ivory is now likewise forwarded by this route.

Soudan exports slaves, senna, ivory, wax, indigo,

skins, &c. &c. Nearly half of the commerce with this important country consists of legitimate articles of trade and barter. This is very encouraging, and the brief history of some of these objects of legal commerce is exceedingly interesting. Wax, for example, began to be sent seventeen years ago; elephants' teeth, fifteen; and indigo, only four years ago.

Timbuctoo now scarcely forwards anything but gold to the coast of Tripoli, together with wax and ivory, but no slaves. The gold is brought by the merchants in diminutive roughly-made rings, which they often carry in dirty little bags, concealed in the breasts of their gowns.

I am exceedingly glad to learn that the Ghadamsee merchants, who formerly embarked two-thirds of their capital in the slave-trade, have now only one-fourth engaged in that manner. This is progress. It has been partly brought about by the closing of the Tunisian slave-mart, partly by the increase of objects of legitimate commerce in the markets of Soudan. The merchants of Fezzan have still to learn that money may be invested to more advantage in things than in persons; but their education has been undertaken, and however slow the light may be in forcing its way to their eyes, it will reach them at last, there can be no doubt.

The trade in senna is always considerable. Last year a thousand cantars were brought from the country of the Tibboos and from Aheer. The latter

place supplies the best. New objects of exportation may no doubt be discovered. Already gum-dragon and cassia have been added to the list of articles brought from Soudan; and when once treaties of commerce have been entered into, and merchants begin to find security in the desert and protection from the native princes, there is no doubt that a very large intercourse may be established with the interior countries of Africa—an intercourse that will at once prove of immense benefit to us as a manufacturing nation, and advance materially that great object of all honest men, the abolition of the accursed traffic in human beings. It is the latter object that chiefly occupies my mind, but I shall not attempt to bring it before the native princes in too abrupt a manner. In some cases, indeed, to allude to it at all would be disastrous. The promotion of legitimate traffic must, after all, be our great lever.

I do not profess in this place to do more than give a few hints on the present state of trade in Tripoli, and the vast tract of half-desert country on which it leans. What I have said is perhaps sufficient to impart some idea of the nature of the relations between the Barbary coast and the interior, and to suggest the importance of the enterprise on which I am engaged. Briefly, the exportation of slaves to Tripoli and beyond, in spite of certain changes of route, is as rife as ever, and in this respect everything remains to be done. But, on the other hand, the trade which, I trust, is provi-

dentially intended to supersede this inhuman traffic, is on the increase, though slightly. If we can pave the way for the civilising steps of European commerce, either by treaties or by personal influence, we shall have accomplished a great work. Let us hope and pray that the necessary health, strength, and power of persuasion be granted to us!

## CHAPTER II.

Start from the Masheeah — Painful Parting — Chaouch's Tent — A Family Quarrel — Wady Majeeneen — A Rainy Day — Moknee's Wives — Two mad Fellows — Great Ascent of Gharian — Tedious Day's Work — The Castle — View over the Country — Garrison — Troglodytes — Turkish Tax-gathering — Quarrelsome Servants — Proceed over the lofty Plain — Underground Villages — Kaleebah — The Batoum — Geology — A Slave Caravan — Cheerful Blacks — Rows — Oasis of Mizdah — Double Village — Intestine Discords — Interview with the Sheikh Omer — A Pocket Province — A Dream of Good Omen — Quarrels on Quarrels — Character of Fezzanees — A Leopard abroad.

THE preliminary miseries of a great journey being at length over, I rose early on the morning of the 30th of March and started from the Masheeah, a kind of suburb of Tripoli, distant in the country, at six. Hope and the spirit of adventure sustained my courage; but it is always sad to part with those we love, even at the call of duty. However, I at length mustered strength to bid adieu to my wife — the almost silent adieu of affection. How many things that were thought were left unsaid on either side! It will be pleasant to fill up all blanks when we talk of these days after a safe return from this arduous undertaking.

It was a fresh, cheerful morning, succeeding several days of sultry weather — an auspicious com-

mencement of the journey. My chaouch, Mohammed Souweea, preceded me on his great horse, murmuring some Arab ditty, and I followed hard on my little donkey. The desert assails the walls of Tripoli, and in half an hour we were in the Sahara sands, which here and there rise in great mounds. I should have liked to have pushed on to some considerable distance at once; but the habits of the country are dilatory, and one must conform to them. In a couple of hours we came to the chaouch's tent, where he had a wife, five children, and seven brothers, one of whom was blind. He, too, was to go through the sad ceremony of parting with his family; and he burst into tears when they surrounded and embraced him. I am sorry to say, however, that before this affecting scene was concluded, a quarrel had began between the blind man and the chaouch's wife, about two Tunisian piastres which were missing, she accusing him of theft and he indignantly repelling the charge. These Easterns seem to have minds constructed on different patterns from ours, and are apt to introduce such petty discussions at the most solemn moments; but we must not, therefore, be hasty in concluding that there is any sham in their sorrow, or affectation in their pathetic bewailings.

They brought in a bowl of milk, and as the chaouch still continued to caress his children, I left him to pass the night in his tent, and pushed on to Wady Majeeneen, where my portion of the caravan

had already encamped. Mr. F. Warrington, with my German colleagues, were a little in advance. The horses of the Pasha's cavalry were feeding around; for when the first belt of sand is past, the country becomes an undulating plain—a prairie, as they would call it in America—covered with patches of corn herbage. Here and there are fields of barley; and a few Arab tents, with flocks and herds near at hand, give a kind of animation to the scene.

Next day (21st) it rained hard; but we went on a little to overtake Drs. Barth and Overweg, whom we found in company with Mr. F. Warrington, Mr. Vice-consul Reade, and Mr. Gaines the American consul. One of Mr. Interpreter Moknee's wives had also come out here, to have some settlement with her husband about support before she let him go. The gentleman has two wives, both negresses; and had already made an arrangement for the other, who has several children, of six mahboubs per month. First come, first served. The second wife, who has two children, only got three mahboubs a month. However, when matters were arranged, the pair became rather more loving. These settlements are always hard matters to manage, all the world over, and it is pleasant to get rid of them. By the way, a son of the worthy Moknee, by a white woman now dead—a lad of about twelve years of age—accompanies us, at least as far as Mourzuk.

The most remarkable persons, however, whom I found at the encampment were a couple of insane

fellows, determined to follow us—perhaps to show "by one satiric touch" what kind of madcap enterprise was ours. The first was a Neapolitan, who had dogged me all the while I was at Tripoli, pestering me to make a contract with him as servant. To humour his madness, I never said I would not; and the poor fellow, taking my silence for consent, had come out asking for his master. They tried to send him away, but he would take orders from none but me. I gave him two loaves of bread and a Tunisian piastre, and also made him a profound bow, politely requesting him to go about his business. He did so in a very dejected manner. During the time he was with the caravan he worked as hard as any one else in his tattered clothes, and, perhaps, he would have been of more use than many a sane person.

The other was a madman indeed, a Muslim, with an unpleasant habit of threatening to cut everybody's throat. Hearing that we were going to Soudan, he followed us, bringing with him a quantity of old metal, principally copper, with which he proposed to trade. He gave himself out as a shereef, or descendant of the Prophet. No sooner had he arrived than he began to quarrel on all sides, and, of course, talked very freely of cutting throats, stabbing, shooting, and other humorous things. Every one was afraid of him. He fawned, however, on us Europeans, whilst he had a large knife concealed under his clothes ready to strike. They were obliged

at length to disarm him, and send him back under a guard to Tripoli. We here took leave of Mr. Reade, who gave me some last explanations about letters to the interior. It rained furiously in the afternoon.

We were kept idle a whole day by the rain; but starting on the second, turned off sharp in the afternoon towards the mountains, and encamped at length in a pretty place fronting the great ascent of Gharian. The appearance of the chain here differs in no important particular from that of any other part of the Tripoline Atlas. The formation is calcareous, but the colours vary to the eye by the admixture of minerals. Groups of sandstone are not uncommon. Rounded, rugged heads, vary the outline of the plateau; and here and there are deep, abrupt valleys, cut down through the range, with groves of fig-trees, almonds, aloes, pomegranates, and even grapes, nestling in their laps. Bright water-courses, springing up in the depths of these ravines, sustain the streaks of half-buried verdure.

We rose early to commence the ascent. It is not difficult unless the camels are very heavily laden; but we did not reach the Castle of Gharian until three in the afternoon. Our caravan dotted with groups of various outline and colour the slopes of the spur, up the side of which the track wound, in a very picturesque manner. Sometimes the foremost camels stood still and complained; and then there was a half-halt throughout the whole long

line. The drivers plied the stick pretty freely on the gaunt flanks of their beasts; the cry of "*Isa! Isa!*" resounded in irregular chorus; pebbles and stones came leaping down at the steep parts. As we rose over the brown slopes, the thin forests of olive-trees partly covering the undulating plateau beyond, with fields of barley and wheat here and there, gladdened our eyes, and contrasted well with the hungry country we had left in the rear.

The castle, sufficiently picturesque in structure, is placed over a deep ravine, but is commanded by the mountain behind. We turned back on nearing it, and beheld the plain we had traversed appearing like the sea enveloped in mist and cloud. In fine weather the minarets of Tripoli can be seen, but now the northern horizon faded off in haze. On either hand the steep declivities of the hills presented a wall-like surface, here and there battered into breaches, from out of which burst little tufts of green, revealing the presence of springs.

There are 200 troops stationed at the castle under Colonel Saleh, to whom we paid an official visit; as also to the Kaïd of Gharian. In both cases we were hospitably treated to pipes, coffee, and lemonade. In this canton are said to be the fanciful number of "one hundred and one" Arab districts, inhabited by the Troglodytes. All the villages, indeed, hereabouts, are underground: not a building is to be seen above, except at wide intervals an old miserable, crumbling, Arab fort. The people are

easily kept in order by the summary Turkish method of proceeding; for they are entirely disarmed, and matchlocks, powder and ball, are contraband articles. The first word of an Oriental tax-gatherer is "Pay!" and the second is "Kill!"

The outset of a journey in the East is usually employed in finding out the vices of one's servants. Their virtues, I suppose, become manifest afterwards. We were on the point of sending our chaouch back from Gharian for dishonesty; but as we reflected that any substitute might be still worse, we passed over the robbery of our barley, and merely determined to keep a good look-out. This worthy, though useful in his sphere, often, as I had anticipated, proved a sad annoyance to us. When he seemed to refrain from cheating and stealing, he rendered our lives troublesome by constant quarrellings and rows—he and his fellow attached to my German companions—*Arcades ambo!*

Mr. Frederick Warrington and the American Consul took leave of us on the morning of the 5th. Starting afterwards about nine, we soon left the Castle of Gharian behind, and continued our course in a direction about south-west, amongst olive-woods and groves of fig-trees. The country was varied enough in appearance as we proceeded. Great masses of rock and cultivated slopes alternated. The vegetation seemed all fresh, and sometimes vigorous. Few birds, except wild pigeons, appeared. Many of the heights which we passed were crowned

with ruined castles, mementoes of the past dominion of the Arabs. We saw some of the Troglodytes coming from under-ground now and then, and pausing to look at us. Their dress is a simple barracan, or blanket-mantle, thrown around them; few indulge in the luxury of a shirt; and they go armed with a great thick stick terminating in a hook. They look cleanly and healthy in spite of their burrowing life, but are fox-like in character as in manners, and bear a reputation for dishonesty.

A little after mid-day we descried afar off the village of Kaleebah, which is built above-ground, and occupies a most commanding position on a bold mountain-top. It remained in sight a-head a long time, cheating us with an appearance of nearness. The inhabitants resemble, in all respects, their mole-brethren, and occupy themselves chiefly in cultivating olives and barley. Government exacts from them two imposts—one special, of a hundred and fifty mahboubs on the olive-crops; and one general, of five hundred mahboubs. We passed the village at length, and encamped an hour beyond. Here were the last olive-groves which were to cheer our eyes for many a long month—many a long year, maybe. Their dark masses covered the swells right and left, and near at hand isolated trees formed pleasant patches of shadow.

We left our camping-ground at length next day, having overcome the obstinate sluggishness of the blacks, and marched nearly nine hours. The

barren forms of the desert begin now to appear, the ground being broken up into huge hills that run mostly in circles, and groups, and broad stony valleys. The formation is limestone, often containing flints, with a little sandstone. Patches of barley here and there splashed this arid surface with green. At a great distance we saw two or three Arab tents, and one flock of sheep, Towards evening began to appear a number of beautiful bushy trees, somewhat resembling our oak in size and appearance. The Arabs call them "Batoum." They do not seem to have yet received their proper botanical classification. Desfontaines describes the tree as the *Pistacia Atlanticis*. It greatly resembles the *Pistacia lentiscus* of Linnæus. A few solitary birds, a flight of crows, lizards and beetles on the ground; no other signs of life.

The next day the country became more barren still, and the batoum disappeared. The patches of barley likewise ceased to cheer the eye; and little pools of water no longer sparkled in the rocky bottoms, as near Kaleebah. The geological formation was nearly the same as yesterday; but pieces of crystalline gypsum covered the ground, and the limestone here and there took the form of alabaster. Some of the hills that close in the huge basin-like valleys are of considerable elevation, and have conic volcanic forms. All was dreary, and desolate, and sad, except that some ground-larks whirled about; lizards and beetles still kept crossing our path;

and a single chameleon did not fade into sand-colour in time to escape notice. No animals of the chase were seen; but our blacks picked up the dung of the ostrich, and a horn of the aoudad. Here and there we observed the broken columns of Roman milestones, some of them covered with illegible inscriptions. The sockets generally remain perfect. We saluted the memory of the sublime road-makers.

About noon, as we were traversing these solitudes in our usual irregular order of march, a crowd of moving things came in sight. It proved to be a slave-caravan, entirely composed of young girls. The Gadamsee merchants who owned them recognised me, and shook me by the hand. Our old black woman was soon surrounded by a troop of the poor slave-girls; and when she related to them how she was returning free to her country under the protection of the English, and wished them all the same happiness, they fell round her weeping and kissing her feet. One poor naked girl had slung at her back a child, with a strange look of intelligence. I was about to give her a piece of money, but could not; for, the tears bursting to my eyes, I was obliged to turn away. The sight of these fragments of families stolen away to become drudges or victims of brutal passion in a foreign land, invariably produced this effect upon me. This caravan consisted of some thirty girls and twenty camel-loads of elephants' teeth. They

had been seventy days on their way from Ghât, including, however, thirty-four days of rest. Most of these poor wretches had performed journeys on their way to bondage which would invest me with imperishable renown as a traveller could I accomplish them.

The caravan was soon lost to view as it wound along the track by which we had come. This day was exceedingly hot, whereas the previous days had reminded us of a cool summer in England. The nights have hitherto been clear, and the zodiacal light is always brilliant. Our blacks keep up pretty well. There are now nine of them; five men, three women, and a boy. They eat barley-meal and oil, and now and then get a cup of coffee. I also feed the Fezzanee marabout, besides those specially attached to the expedition. As to the camel-drivers, they are an ill-bred, disobliging set, and I give them nothing extra. How different are our negroes! They are most cheerful. As we proceed, they run hither and thither collecting edible herbs; and, like children, making the way more long in their sport. Sometimes their amusements are less pleasant, and they seem systematically to take refuge from *ennui* in a quarrel. Two of them began to pelt each other with stones to-day; allies dropped in on either side; laughter was succeeded by execrations; and the whole caravan at length came to loggerheads.

The sidr, or lote-tree, is abundant in these parts, and it is curious to notice how in the spring

season the green leaves sprout out all over the white burnt-up shrub. All vegetation in the desert that is not perfectly new seems utterly withered by time. There is scarcely any medium between the bud and the dead leaf. Infancy is scorched at once into old age.

As we advanced, the country appeared to put on sterner forms, until suddenly, in the afternoon, the rocks opened to disclose the Wady Esh-Shrâb nestling amidst limestone hills, and containing the pleasant oasis of Mizdah. Its beauties consist, in reality, but of a few patches of green barley and scanty palm-groves; but, in contrast to the sultry desert, the scene appeared really enchanting.

We have now left the Troglodytes behind us. Mizdah (eight summer and ten winter days from Ghadamez, three short days from Gharian, and the same from Benioleed) is built above-ground, and consists of a double village, or rather two contiguous villages, inhabited by people of the Arab race. Each division is fortified after a fashion, with walls now crumbling, and with round crenulated towers. One large tower, some fifty feet high, has stood, they say, four hundred years. I asked, What was the use of these fortifications? and was naïvely told they were for the purposes of *shamatah*, "war," or rather "rows." And true enough, before the Turks extended their power so far, these two beggarly villages, fifty miles from any neighbours, were in constant hostility one with the other. Each had its

great tower, a giant among all the little towers—a kind of keep, to which the defeated party retired to recruit its strength or escape utter destruction. This is likewise the case with many other double towns of the Sahara, and seems to prove that war is the native passion and trade of man. At any rate, punishment for such turbulence has not been wanting; for in this, as in so many other cases, whilst these poor wretches were engaged in cutting one another's throats, the conqueror has come and established his tyranny. They are now paying the penalty of their love of shamatah in the shape of an impost of four hundred mahboubs per annum, and in numbers are reduced to about a hundred and thirty heads of families.

We had some additional camel-drivers from Kaleebah, who, of course, endeavoured to extort more than they had agreed for. When we had squabbled with them a little, we had the honour of receiving Sheikh Omer, of Mizdah, in the tent. He came with about thirty notables of the place, the greater part of whom sat outside the doorway, whilst he stroked his beard within, indulging in a touch of eau de Cologne and a cup of coffee. We read him the circular-letter of Izhet Pasha, and received all manner of civilities. The next day, indeed, he came to us to serve as guide through the country over which he wields delegated dominion. He had not far to go. His empire is a mere pocket one. The palm-trees are about three hundred in number, and

there are but half-a-dozen diminutive fields of barley ripening in the ear, fed by irrigation from several wells which supply tolerably sweet water. A few onion-beds occur in the little gardens, which are partially shaded by some small trees.

Sheikh Omer supplied us with copious bowls of milk; the most refreshing thing, after all, that can be drank in the heat of the day. We were, however, impatient to get off, but had to wait for a blacksmith to shoe the horses of our chaouch. The only knowing man in this department was away at some neighbouring village, and it was necessary to send messengers to find him. There being nothing better to do, the day, accordingly, was spent in quarrelling. We had at least a hundred tongue-skirmishes between our people and the people of Mizdah—between our chaouch and the other chaouch—between our chaouch and the sheikh of the country—between Yusuf and the Fezzanee—between every individual black and every other individual black—between our chaouch particularly and all the people of Mizdah:—in short, there were as many rows as it were possible for a logician to find relations betwixt man and man.

I must not forget that our chaouch, in spite of all this effervescence, had got up this morning in a very pious state of mind. He told us that a marabout had appeared to him in a dream, and had said, "O man! go to Soudan with the Christians, and thou shalt return with the blessing of God upon thee!" This vision seemed to have made a deep

impression upon him at the time, but he had forgotten it long before it had ceased to be the subject of my anxious thoughts —"O God, I beseech thee, indeed, to give us a prosperous journey! But thy will be done. We are entirely in thy hands!"

*April* 10*th*.—We had another glorious row this morning before starting. A man who had gone to fetch the blacksmith, and found him not, demanded payment of two Tunisian piastres. The chaouch, suspecting that he never went at all, but concealed himself in the village, would not pay him. This brought on a collision. Sheikh Omer supported us; and so all the people of the other village took part against us. Two of them were armed, and some of us thought it advisable to load our pistols. At last, however, we pushed them away from the tent by force; and, in the first moment of indignation, wrote a letter to the Pasha about them. Hearing of this, they came to beg us not to send the letter, which was accordingly torn up by the Sheikh. My chaouch was the great actor in all this affair; and it was necessary that I should support him, even if he were a little wrong, otherwise he would have had no confidence in himself or us in cases of difficulty.

The Sheikh, who, as well as ourselves, has lost some little things during these days, gives the people of Mizdah a very bad character. In the scuffle, I noticed that they called him *Fezzanee*, which is used as a term of insult in these parts. "All the Fez-

zanees are bad people, and all their women courtezans," says my chaouch.

There is a large leopard reported to be abroad near the oasis of Mizdah. He escaped from Abd-el-Galeel, who brought him from Soudan, and creates great terror among the camel-drivers. They say, with unspeakable horror, "The nimr eats all the weak camels!" He has already devoured two. He drinks in the neighbouring wady, where there is water six months of the year. During the remainder he is capable, they say, of doing without drinking.

## CHAPTER III.

Leave Mizdah—Gloomy Country—Matrimonial Squabbles in the Caravan—"Playing at Powder"—Desert Geology—A Roman Mausoleum—Sport—A Bully tamed—Fatiguing March—Wady Taghijah—Our old friend the Ethel-Tree—The Waled Bou Seif—Independent Arabs—A splendid Mausoleum—One of the nagahs foals—Division of a Goat—March over a monotonous country—Valley of Amjam—Two new Trees—Saluting the New Moon—Sight the Plateau of the Hamadah—Wady Tabooneeah—Travelling Flies—The Desert Hour—A secluded Oasis—Buying Barley—Ghareeah—Roman Remains—Oasean Cultivation—Taxation—Sand-Pillar—Arrangements for crossing the Hamadah—An *Emeute* in the Caravan—Are compelled to discharge the quarrelsome Ali.

We started for Mizdah, at length, towards noon, Sheikh Omer bringing us a little on our way, and begging to be well spoken of in high quarters; and after passing the ruins of two Arab castles that frown over the southern side of Wady Esh-Shrâb, got into a gloomy country, exactly resembling that on the other side of the oasis, except that the strata of the limestone rocks, instead of being horizontal are inclined. The whole desert, however, wears a more arid appearance. Yet there were some lote-trees here and there, and a few tholukhs. The traces of the aoudad were noticed; and the blacks,

picking up its dung, smelt it as musk, saying, "It is very good." As I jogged on upon my camel, the oppressive heat caused me to sleep and dream in the saddle of things that had now become the province of memory.

More quarrels! The chaouches are boiling over again; they must fight it out between them. No doubt they are both correct in exchanging the epithet of "thief." Scarcely has the grumbling of these two terrible fellows died away, when the blacks are at it amongst themselves. He who has two wives gets hold of his blunderbuss, and threatens to blow himself to pieces. Nobody interferes; there is little public spirit in a caravan: so he consents to an explanation, saying sententiously, "My little wife is mad." The fact is, his two helpmates, one young and one old, are vastly too much for him, as they would be for most men. He moves along in a perpetual family tornado. The mother of the young one, a sort of derwish negress, is a tremendous old intriguer, and stirs up at least one feud a day. Quarrelling is meat and drink to her.

It would have been out of character had not Ali got up a little convulsion on his own account. One day, in the Targhee's absence, he took his gun to "play at powder," and using English material, succeeded in splitting the machine near the lock. When the Targhee returned, and found what damage had been done, he began first to whimper, and then working himself up into a towering pas-

sion, swore he would shoot the culprit. Scarcely with that weapon, O Targhee! When his excitement was over, I offered to make a collection among the people to indemnify him; but he shook his head, laughed, and refused. The gun was nearly all his property, and he had just bought it new at Tripoli.*

All this part of Northern Africa may be compared to an archipelago, with seas of various breadths dividing the islands. Three days took us from Tripoli to Gharian, and three more to Mizdah. We were now advancing across the preliminary desert stretching in front of the great plateau of the Hamadah, which defends, like a wall of desolation, the approaches of Fezzan from the north. At first occur broken limestone hills, as previous to Mizdah; but when we approach the plateau the aspect of the hills changes, and they are composed chiefly of variegated marl mixed with gypsum, and with a covering of limestone. Fossil shells were picked up at intervals. Some huge, irregular masses, that appeared ahead during the first day, were mistaken by us for the edge of the plateau; but we broke through, and left them right and left as we proceeded. They are great masses of limestone and red clay, in which are scooped deep valleys, many of them supplied with abundant herbage. As yet we

* The Orientals are prevented by superstitious fear from allowing any article destroyed by accident to be replaced in the way mentioned.—Ed.

have never attained a level of more than 2500 feet above the level of the sea. Water must exist underground, if we may argue from the presence of the aoudad and the gazelle. Indeed, out of the line of route, amongst the hills, there are wells and Arab tents. The presence of Roman remains reminds us that the country has seen more prosperous times. We encamped on the 11th in a wady, overlooked by the ruins of a mausoleum, which had assumed colossal proportions in the distance. Some Berber letters were carved upon its walls; probably by Tuaricks, who had formerly inhabited the district.

One of our blacks this day killed a lêfa, the most dangerous species of snake; and several thobs or lizards were caught. The greyhound of the Fezzanee also ran down a hare. Next day it procured us a gazelle; but with these exceptions were seen only ground-larks, and what we call in Lincolnshire water-wagtails.

It is worth mentioning that at this place our chaouch sprained his ankle, and Dr. Overweg applied spirits of camphor as lotion. This terrible fellow, this huge swaggerer, this eater-up of ordinary timid mortals, was reduced to the meekness of a lamb by his slight accident; and for the first time since the caravan was blessed with his presence did he remain tranquil, breathing out from time to time a soft complaint. In the course of the day he had contrived to make himself particularly disagreeable.

First he fell out with the servant of the Germans, Mahommed of Tunis. Then he quarrelled with us all, because he picked up a blanket for somebody and was refused his modest demand of three piastres as a reward. We are heartily glad that he is tamed for awhile.

On the 12th, shortly after we started, I happened to look behind and saw, coming from the west, some clouds that seemed to give promise of rain. Already I felt the air cooled by anticipation, but was soon undeceived. In the course of an hour a gheblee began to blow, and continued to increase in violence until it enervated the whole caravan. Our poor black women began to drop with fatigue, and we were compelled to place them on the camels. Here was a foretaste of the desert, its hardships and its terrors! The air was full of haze, through which we could scarcely see the flagging camels, with their huge burdens; and the men, as they crawled along, were apparently ready to sink on the ground in despair. We breathed the hot atmosphere with difficulty and displeasure.

Right glad were we then, at length, to reach the Wady Taghijah, where I at once recognised my old desert friend, under whose spreading and heavy boughs I once had passed a night alone in the Sahara,—the ethel-tree! It is a species of *Pinus*, growing chiefly in valleys of red clay on the top of mounds, which are sometimes overshadowed by a gigantic tree, with arms measuring four feet in

circumference. Of its wood are made the roofs of houses, the frames of camel-saddles, and bowls for holding milk and other food. With the berries and a mixture of oil the people prepare their water-skins, as well as tan leather. The valley is strewed with huge branches, cut down for the purpose of extracting resin. The ethel and the batoum are the most interesting of desert-trees, and I shall regret to exchange them for the tholukh. I wrote down the names of fourteen shrubs found in the valley of Taghijah: two of them, the sidr and the katuf, are edible by man; the rest, with the exception of the *hijatajel*, afford food for the camels.

In this valley, amongst the trees, we found the flocks and horses of the Waled Bou Seif feeding. This tribe—the children of the Father of the Sword—are wandering Arabs, who have never acknowledged the authority of the Tripoli Government. They possess flocks, camels, and horses,—every element, in fact, of desert wealth. All the mountains near and round about Mizdah are claimed by them as their country, which has never, perhaps, been reduced by any power but the Roman. A young man of the tribe, who was tending some sheep in the valley, came to visit us. He was a fine, cheerful fellow, with an open countenance, well dressed, having; besides his barracan, red leather boots, trousers, and a shirt. All his tribe, according to his account, are so dressed. He boasted of the independence of his people, who number three thou-

sand strong, and extend their influence as far south as Ghareeah. The name of the tribe is derived, he tells us, from a great warrior who once lived, and was named by the people Bou Seif, because he always carried a sword.

Our chaouch gave us an account of this young man in the following strain :—" He is in very deed a marabout! His wife never unveiled her face to any man ; and his own mother kisses his hand. He is master of wealth, and never leaves this valley. He has a house and flocks of sheep, and a hundred camels, which always rest in the valley, bringing forth young, and are never allowed to go into the caravans," &c. &c.

We were detained during the whole of the 13th, because the water was at a distance and our people had to fetch it. There were marks of recent rain in the valley, but there is no well; only a few muddy puddles. Dr. Barth, in wandering about, discovered here a splendid mausoleum, of which he brought back a sketch. It was fifty feet high, of Roman-Christian architecture,—say of the fourth or fifth century. No doubt, remains of cities and forts will be discovered in these districts. Such tombs as these indicate the presence in old time of a large and opulent population.

One of the nagahs foaled this day, which partly accounts for our detention. For some time afterwards the cries of the little camel for its mother, gone to feed, distressed us, and called to our mind

the life of toil and pain that was before the little delicate, ungainly thing. It is worth noticing, that the foal of the camel is frolicsome only for a few days after its birth—soon becoming sombre in aspect and solemn in gait. As if to prepare it betimes for the rough buffeting of the world, the nagah never licks or caresses its young, but spreads its legs to lower the teat to the eager lips, and stares at the horizon, or continues to browse.

Our people clubbed together and bought a goat for a mahboub. They then divided it into five lots, and an equal number of thongs was selected by the five part-owners of the meat; these were given to a stranger not concerned in the division, and he arbitrarily placed one upon each piece, from which decision there was no appeal.

On the 14th we rose before daybreak, and were soon in motion. No change was noticed in the country, limestone rocks and broad valleys running in all directions. The ground is sometimes scattered with fossil shells, some of the *exogyra*, others of the oyster species; all flints. There were apparent traces of the hyæna, but of no other wild animals. Some sheep were at graze; and the long stubble of last year's crop of barley, in irregular patches, told us that when there is copious rain the Arabs come to these parts for agricultural purposes. We noticed the English hedge-thorn here and there, and thought of the green lanes of our native land.

Nine hours' journey brought us to the valley of

Amjam, where there was a khafilah of senna encamped among the trees. Water — rather bitter, however—may be found here in shallow excavations; and the whole place, with its patches of herbage, is highly refreshing to the eye.

There are two new trees in this wady, both interesting; the *Ghurdok* and the *Ajdaree*. The *ghurdok*, on which the camels browse, is a large bush with great thorns, and bears a red berry about the size of our hip, or, as the marabout says, of sheep's dung. People eat these berries and find them good, with a saltish, bitter taste, and yet a dash of sweetness. The *ajdaree* is also a thorny bush, and at a distance something reminds one of the English hedge-thorn. On a nearer approach the leaves are found to be oval and filbert-shaped. The berry, called *thomakh*, is nearly as large as haws, but flatted at the sides: it is used medicinally, being a powerful astringent in diarrhœa.

When the moon was two days old our people practised a little of the ancient Sabæanism of the Arabs—saluting it by kissing their hands, and offering a short prayer.

On the 15th we at length sighted the edge of the plateau of the Hamadah; and pushing on still through desert hills and valleys, arrived at Wady Tabooneeah, having been *en route* four days from Mizdah. This valley is not so fertile as Amjam; and the water is more bitter. Common salt, the companion of gypsum, was observed to-day; and

wherever this is found there are bitter salts. Swallows were skimming over the shrubs, and birds of prey hovered about, now lying-to, as it were, overhead, with beak and talons visible, now circling upwards until they became mere specks. Lizards and beetles abounded as usual; but the only plagues of the place were the flies, which had followed the camels from Gharian, and even from Tripoli. Men usually carry their "black cares" along with them in this way.

As we could not expect to commence the traject of the dreaded plateau immediately, I resolved to go upon a visit to the village of Western Ghareeah. The camel-drivers of the caravan, of course, told us that it was at the distance of one hour—*Saha bas!* but we found it to be three hours in a north-east direction. Time is of little consequence in the desert, and no means are possessed or desired of measuring it with exactitude. It has already been observed by a traveller, that the Bedawin will describe as *near* an object a hundred yards off, or a well two days' journey from you. Western Ghareeah was likewise described as *grayeb*, but we thought for some time that we had ventured upon an interminable desert. However, the ground at length dipped, and a green wady disclosed itself. We could scarcely, at first, find anybody to receive us. But after waiting some time, the people came unwillingly crawling out one after the other. We told them our errand—"To look at the country and

buy barley." They swore they had none—not a grain; but when we swore in our turn that we would pay them for what we wanted, they admitted having a little that belonged to some people in Fezzan. I was amused with the eloquent indignation of our burly chaouch when they professed complete destitution at first. "You dogs! do you live on stones?" cried he. This was a settler; and showed them that they had knowing ones to deal with. Of course their original shyness arose from fear lest we might rob them. When a bargain was struck they became quite friendly, and brought us out some oil, barley-cakes, and boiled eggs—all the luxuries of the oasis!

Ghareeah Gharbeeah stands on the brow of a limestone rock, on the western side of a valley, which we had to cross in approaching between date plantations and a few fields of barley. It was an ancient Roman city; and there remains still an almost perfect bas-relief of a Victoria on one side of the eastern gateway, which is composed of limestone blocks a foot and a half square. We could trace also the imperfect letters of a Latin inscription, together with some Berber characters. The houses of the present inhabitants are formed of rough blocks of limestone mixed with mud, and roofed with palm-trunks and palm-trees. The water resembles that of the well of Tabooneeah, coming "from the same rock," as the people say: it is slightly bitter and saltish.

With the exception of the little valley we had crossed, nothing could be seen from Ghareeah but a dreary waste, especially to the south and east. A tower of modern date rises to the east, on a solitary rock; and we knew that Eastern Ghareeah was concealed among the hills at a distance of six hours. The inhabitants of these secluded towns are called Waringah, and promise shortly to become extinct. In this Western Ghareeah there are twenty heads of families, but very few children,—scarce sixty souls altogether; and the population of the other place, which gives itself airs of metropolitan importance, is not more than double. How they have not abandoned the place long ago to jackals and hawks is a mystery. They do not possess a single camel; only two or three asses and some flocks of sheep; and depend, in a great measure, on chance profits from caravans, for their valley often only affords provision for a couple of months or so. At intervals, it is true, when there has been much rain, they sell barley in the neighbouring valleys; but this season has been a dry one, and the crop has consequently fallen short. When they have no barley, they say, they eat dates; and when the dates are out, they fast—a long, continual fast—and famine takes them off one by one. The melancholy remnant preserve traditions of prosperity in comparatively recent times. Notwithstanding their miserable condition, however, these wretched people are drained by taxation of thirty mahboubs per annum—so many

drops of blood! The eastern village pays in proportion.' Possibly in a few years this cluster of wadys may be abandoned to chance Arab visitors, so that the starting-point for the traverse of the Hamadah will be removed farther back, perhaps to Mizdah. There is no life in the civilisation which claims lordship over these countries unfriended by nature. The only object of those who wield paramount authority over them seems to be to extract money in the most vexatious and expeditious manner.

I purchased of the people of Ghareeah a greyhound bitch for four Tunisian piastres, so that we may now expect some hares and gazelles. In returning to the encampment I observed the phenomenon of a column of dust carried into the heavens in a spiral form by the wind, whilst all around was perfectly calm. Such columns are not of so frequent occurrence in the desert as is imagined, but from time to time, as in this instance, are seen.

The evening was spent in making arrangements with Dr. Barth and Dr. Overweg, who had agreed to traverse the Hamadah by day, whilst I was to follow by night, with the blacks. Next morning, accordingly, the caravan separated into two portions, and my companions rode slowly away over the burning desert.

This important day could not be allowed to pass by my people without a tremendous quarrel. Our blacks seemed to be in a peculiarly excitable state. Ali, especially, who has distinguished himself for

several days in the obstreperous line, has had a regular turn-to with his father-in law; and not satisfied with this, nearly strangled Moknee's son. The Mandara black threw himself on the ground and called out,—"Load my pistol, O Chaouch; I must shoot this reprobate Ali!"

This fellow is a pest in the caravan, and I have been obliged to send him off and insist on his return to Tripoli. He may be brought to his senses in this way.

## CHAPTER IV.

Commence crossing the Hamadah—Last Pillar of the Romans—Travelling in the Desert—Rapid March—Merry Blacks—Dawn—Temperature—Ali returns—Day-travelling—Night-feelings—Animals—Graves of Children—Mirage—Extent of the Plateau—It breaks up—Valley of El-Hasee—Farewell to the Hamadah—Arduous Journey—The Camel-drivers—New Country—Moral and religious Disquisitions—The Chaouches—Reach Edree—Abd-el-Galeel—Description of Edree—Subterranean Dwellings—Playing at Powder—The Kaïd—Arabic Literature—Desertion of the Zintanah—Leave Edree—Sandy Desert—Bou Keta the Camel-driver—Wady El-Makmak—The Lizard—Reach Wady Takadafah—Sand—Another *Embroglio*.

THE sun was setting as our caravan, which we had collected in as compact a body as possible, got under way, and rising out of the valley of Tabooneeah, began to enter upon the plateau. It is difficult to convey an idea of the solemn impressions with which one enters upon such a journey. Everything a-head is unknown, and invested with perhaps exaggerated terrors by imagination and report. The name of Desert—the waterless Desert—hangs over the horizon, and suggests the most gloomy apprehensions. Behind, in the fading light, the trees of the valley still show their dim groups; before, the lofty level, slightly broken by undulations, stretches away. There was one cheering thought, however. My

companions had by this time set up their tent for the night; and although, creeping along at the camel's slow pace, we could not expect to come up to that temporary home until it was about to be deserted, still the knowledge of its existence took away much of the mysterious terror with which I entered upon this desolate region in the hour of coming shadows. An additional solemnity was imparted to the commencement of this arduous journey by the fact that we now passed the last pillar erected by the Romans. Their mighty power seems to have recoiled, as well it might, before the horrid aspect of the Hamadah.

We pushed on at a steady pace over the rough ground; and as I surveyed the scene from my elevated position on the camel's back, I could not help contrasting this primitive style of travelling with that with which I had been conversant a few months before. Instead of whirling along the summit of an embankment, or through a horizontal well miles deep, in a machine that always reminded me of a disjointed dragon, at the rate of some fifty miles an hour, here I was leisurely swaying to and fro on the back of the slowest beast that man has ever tamed, in the midst of a crowd loosely scattered over the country, some on foot, some in the saddle—not seeking to keep any determinate track, but following a general direction by the light of the stars, which shine with warm beneficence overhead. There is no sound to attract the ear, save the

measured tread of the caravan, the occasional "*Isa! Isa!*" of the drivers, the hasty wrench with which our camels snatch a mouthful of some ligneous plant that clings to the stony soil, the creaking of the baggage, or the whistling of the wind that comes moaning over the desert. These are truly moments in a man's life to remember; and I shall ever look back to that solemn night-march over the desert, which my pen fails to describe, with sentiments of pleasurable awe.

This night we moved at comparatively a rapid pace—nearly three miles an hour; for there was scarcely any temptation to the camels to linger for browsing purposes, and the drivers seemed desperately anxious to get over as much ground as possible at once. At first all went well enough; and now and then even, the blacks, who were on foot, braved the Hamadah with a lively ditty—celebrating some Lucy Long of Central Africa. But by degrees these merry sounds ceased to be heard; and the hastily-moving crowd of the caravan insensibly stretched out into a longer line. The poor women were beginning to knock up, and several fell at times from mere exhaustion. We proceeded, however, without stopping, for eleven hours, and after a long, dreary night indeed, halted at five in the morning, having reached the encampment of our German friends.

The dawn soon lighted up the waste, and enabled us to see that it was a level plain of hard

red earth, scattered over with pebbles and loose pieces of limestone mixed with flint.

The Hamadah was very cold in the night, the wind being from the north. Dr. Overweg does not think that the plateau is more than fifteen hundred feet above the level of the sea; but it may be two thousand, and a little more in some places. By day it is hot enough; and as there is little to be observed on these vast, elevated stretches of stony desert, I thought it best to continue my original plan for three whole nights.

To spare one's self is the great secret of Saharan travelling; and there is, after all, not much to observe in this desolate region.

I should mention, that the second night Ali came up in a penitent state along with a khafilah from Ghareeah, and so our poor black women had an opportunity of getting a lift on the spare camels. We could, therefore, go on until morning without fear of losing any of our party in the night. The position of a person who falls behind a caravan in the desert very much resembles that of a man overboard. This khafilah preceded us to Shaty.

After the third night I found the weather so cool and temperate, that I continued on the whole of the day; and the Germans joining me in the evening, we did not again separate. It was towards the close of the third night that we were assailed by an awful tempest of wind, rain, and lightning, which flashed upon us occasionally

through the thick darkness. The Germans, who were encamped, had their tents carried away, whilst we who were in motion found ourselves compelled to stop and crouch under the bellies of our camels until the morning broke, and the hurricane had spent its force. The cold was intense, and our people complained bitterly. More than once, indeed, the thermometer was down to freezing-point whilst we were traversing the plateau; and one morning the desert was covered with a shining frost.

Although we became accustomed to the desolate appearance of this district by degrees, we counted eagerly the days and hours that brought us nearer the confines of Fezzan. Every night's incidents were the same. On we went, nodding drowsily on our camels, sometimes dropping off into a sound sleep, variegated by a snatch of pleasant dreams. But these indulgences are dangerous. I was more than once on the point of falling off. By day, few objects of interest presented themselves: linnets and finches fluttered here and there upon the rare bushes, whilst swallows joined the caravan, and skimmed round and round for hours among the camels, almost brushing the faces of the drivers. Lizards glanced and snakes writhed across the path. We started three wadan or mouflon, churlish animals, fond of such solitudes. As to the birds, our people say they do not drink in winter, and in summer leave the Hamadah altogether. Four-fifths of the surface were utterly barren. Little

mounds marked the graves of children, slaves who had perished on the way from inner Africa. The mirage was common, but rarely pretty. Sometimes ridges of low mountains seemed raised on the level plain, probably reflected from the cliffs that edge the plateau. The scattered herbage also assumed regular forms—squares, ovals, circles. Now and then it seemed as if vast ruins were ahead, but as we drew nigh these dwindled into little desert-mosques, formed of half-circles of stones, now turned to the east, now to the west. Here the faithful who may be obliged to traverse these dreary regions stop to offer up their simple prayer to the Almighty Allah, to whom, they say, the dreadful Hamadah belongs.

The extent of this plateau from north to south, varying in our route from S.E. to S.W., is about 156 miles, or six long and seven short days' journey. Sometimes our camels went at the pace of three miles, but nearly always of two and a-half miles in the hour. It is almost impossible to make the traverse in less than fifty-six or sixty hours. The camels may continue on night and day, but it will always require so much time to make the weary journey, which is considered the greatest exploit of Saharan travelling in this portion of Northern Africa.

On the road to Tuat from Algeria, or to Ghadamez from Tunis and Tripoli, or to Fezzan from Bonjem or Benioleed, there is no traverse of six days comparable in difficulty to that which we have just

accomplished. There is said to be none other like it on the road to Soudan, except a tremendous desert between Ghât and Aheer. However, we must not trouble ourselves about this as yet.

As for the Hamadah, we know that near Sokna the plateau breaks up and forms what are called the Jebel-es-Soudy, or Black Mountains, a most picturesque group of cliffs; and again on the route to Egypt from Mourzuk, six days' journey south-east from Sokna, it also breaks into huge cliffs, and bears the name of El-Harouj. These mountain buttresses are either the bounds of the Hamadah, or masses of rock where it breaks into hills, forming ravines or valleys. But, in fact, how far the Hamadah extends between Ghadamez on the west and Augila on the east is not yet properly ascertained. It seems to be like a broad belt intercepting the progress of commerce, civilisation, and conquest, from the shores of the Mediterranean to Central Africa. The kingdom of Fezzan, however, advances like a promontory beyond it; and then on every side stretches the desert ocean with its innumerable oases or islands, which, from being once mere fluctuating names, as it were, on a guess map, are now by degrees dropping one by one into their right places.

On the breaking-up of the plateau we observed its geological structure to consist of three principal strata: first, a covering or upper crust, limestone with flints and red earth; then masses of marl; and then sandstone, lumps and masses of which were

blackened by the contact of the air with the iron they contain. Under the sandstone was likewise a bed of yellow clay, with a mixture of gypsum.

The face of the cliffs of the plateau was blackened as with the smoke of a huge furnace, which gave a majestic and yet gloomy appearance to the scene as we descended the pass towards the valley of El-Hasee. We found the plain strewed with great masses of dark sandstone, seeming to have been detached by some convulsion from the rocky walls, which now rose in apparently interminable grandeur behind us. We glanced back in awe, and yet in some triumph, towards the iron-bound desert we had thus safely traversed; but our eyes soon turned from so bleak a prospect, when we beheld, dotting the sandy wady, clumps of the wild palm, green copses, and the majestic ethel-tree.

It was about two in the afternoon when we reached the camping-ground, all our people shouting, "*Be-Selameh el Hamadah!*" Farewell to the Hamadah! I cried out the same words in a joyful voice; for, although now that the dangers of the plateau were overcome they seemed diminished in my eyes, yet I felt that we had escaped from a most trying march with wonderful good fortune. It is difficult to convey an idea of the horror and desolation of so vast a tract of waterless and uninhabited country. They alone who have breathed the sharp air of its blank nakedness can appreciate it, or understand how any accidental delay, sickness, the

bursting of the water-skins, the straying of the camels, might produce incalculable sufferings, and even death. "*Be-Selameh el Hamadah!*" then, with all my heart. "*Be-Selameh! be-Selameh!*" again rings through the caravan, as we reach at length our camping-ground, and throw ourselves at full-length under the pleasing shade. Even the camel-drivers were so fatigued, that they stretched out as soon as the command to halt was given, and let their animals stray at will, without taking the trouble to unload them. I had observed the same supineness during our halts all through this trying district, which seems to oppress their imaginations as well as prostrate their bodies. Several times I had been obliged myself to collect wood and make a fire to rally our lagging servants. Indeed, on more than one occasion I was compelled to exert my personal authority. On the third night, particularly, I wished all the people to rest one hour. The camel-drivers resisted this reasonable request, and were backed by Yusuf. When it became a question between myself and my interpreter, I jumped off my camel and stopped the caravan. The chaouch supported me, and in this case at least behaved very well. If we had continued all night, we should have made a march of sixteen hours,—too much for the blacks, and indeed for any man on his feet.

On the whole, however, I have to observe, that as we approach Fezzan our camel-drivers are getting more civil and obliging. Is this the genial effect of

native air, or expectation of a present? They have not mentioned the latter subject yet, but, on the contrary, promise me some dates.

The broad valley of El-Hasee is sandy, like all those of Fezzan. It is bounded on the north by the perpendicular buttresses of the Hamadah, and on the south by sandy swells. The well is not copious, but affords a regular supply of slightly brackish water. The people descend to the bottom, thirty or forty feet, and fill their gerbahs. The blacks are very troublesome, and require a good deal of patience. This morning they would not fetch water from this well, although quite close by the tent. I was obliged to threaten to leave them before I could get them to move. They are, probably, a little broken down by the fatigue of the Hamadah.

We passed through Wady El-Hasee on the 24th, and after mid-day began to ascend, and continued to do so until we pitched tent at half-past four, at a place called Esfar. This is also a species of plateau, but consists of sand-hills, sandstone rocks, and shallow valleys filled with herbage and shrubs. I was glad to get rid of the eternal limestone and have a change of the sandstone.

On the 25th we started early, and had a cool temperature all day. Our chaouch went out, and by the assistance of the greyhound bitch brought in a young gazelle. For about three hours the camels had herbage; but afterwards came a desert more horrible even than the Hamadah. It consists of

sandstone rocks, and valleys covered with pebbles and loose blocks. Some of the rocks are perfectly black, and would be considered by an European geologist, on a distant view, as basalt. Until half-past four in the afternoon we did not see a blade of grass, a sprig of vegetation, or living thing of any description; but at the camping-ground was a thin scattering of herbage, near the foot of the black mountain called Solaou Mârrafa.

We have sometimes moral disquisitions among our people. This day we had a dispute on religion. The Zintanah, a real orthodox Musulman, maintained a strict distinction between the believers and unbelievers, giving heaven to the former and hell to the latter. Yusuf and several more tolerant gentlemen held out hope of mercy to us all, as God was "the Compassionate and the Merciful." The chaouch also lectured the people on courage, and publicly maintained that the Fezzanees were all cowards. This fellow is a second Sir John Falstaff, without the corpulence. The tone of all members of the caravan, as I have mentioned, is now much humanised. Every one is more civil to us, and, by habit, to one another. However, the chaouches must, of course, get up a quarrel now and then: they do it between themselves; but, as a sign that they likewise are a little civilised, have only had two regular explosions to-day. Probably these worthies, who remind me of a bull-dog and a terrier, find particular pleasure in this form of social intercourse; for

I always observe, that they are on more friendly terms than ever after they have almost come to beard-pulling.

I interfere as little as possible in all these quarrels, but now and then it is difficult to hold aloof. This morning, for example, the black who has two wives, took it into his head to beat one of them in public. I called upon him to desist, upon which he went to work harder than ever; so that I was compelled to break a stick over his shoulders to reduce him to quietness. These little caravan incidents were often the only ones that diversified our day.

On the 26th, after a march of ten hours, with cool weather at first, but suffocating heat afterwards, we reached Edree, a town of El-Shaty, in a state of great exhaustion. During the latter part of the march, however, we had been cheered by the sight of the town, which stands on a small mound of yellow clay and rock. The whitewashed marabout of Bou Darbalah gleamed a little distance in front of the place, which in itself is now a heap of ruins, having been destroyed by Abd-el-Galeel, on account of the resistance of the inhabitants to his usurped authority. He also, with a cruelty rarely practised in Saharan warfare, cut down above a thousand palms; thus rendering it impossible for the place to recover rapidly from its disasters. Previously there had been a hundred and twenty heads of families; now there are only twenty-five, and these are still diminishing it is said. However, many

little children are now in the streets, naked, and covered with filth.

These few inhabitants are a mixed race, some being as fair as those on the coast, whilst others are as black as the darkest negroes of Central Africa. The Sheikh and two or three patriarchs of the village were polite and hospitable, and showed every disposition to comply with the orders sent by the Pasha of Mourzuk to supply us with fresh provisions without payment. I accepted a sheep and two fowls; but the dates for our blacks I paid for, and added a few presents.

The valley of Edree is very shallow, and this portion of it is mostly covered with bushes of wild palm and with coarse herbage; it looks green and grateful amidst the surrounding aridity. There are still remaining many fruit-bearing date-trees—about seven thousand, scattered at great distances. The water is good, although the surface of the valley is in parts covered with a whitish crust of salt. Some large springs are continually overflowing with bubbles of gas, like the great well of Ghadamez.

In the garden-fields of Edree are cultivated wheat and barley, the former white and of the finest quality. A good deal of grain has already been got in this year. With industry, and a few more animals to draw the water for irrigation, a great quantity of wheat might be grown in this oasis. The gardens contain also a few figs and grapes. Doves were fluttering in the branches of the palms, and swallows

darting through their waving foliage. There were thousands of native flies here, besides those that had come with us. When we complained, we were answered, "This is a country of dates!"

Shaty has eighteen districts, some very limited, but having date-palms, and paying contributions to Mourzuk. Edree, itself, is drained of four hundred mahboubs per annum.

27*th*.—I rose at sunrise and went to see the ancient dwellings of Edree, where the people lived underground: they are excavations out of the rock, some fifty yards from the surface beneath the modern town. The entrances are choked with sand, and they are not entered by the people, who say "They are the abodes of serpents." At present, there is nothing remarkable about them. Probably they were originally natural caves, which were enlarged and arranged as dwellings.

On returning to the encampment, I found that the Kaïd, or commander of the troops of the Shaty district, had arrived with some Arab cavaliers: he has in all thirty horsemen. Our visitors offered to "play powder," in order to do us honour; but were compelled to beg us to supply the ammunition. It was a very animating scene, after the dreary journey over the Fezzanee deserts. A dozen mounted cavaliers dashed to and fro, shaking the earth, shouting and firing from time to time. Everybody enjoyed it; even the half-naked, dirty, brown-black ladies of the town, stopped with their water-jugs, and

looked on with satisfaction. The Kaïd was the best man of his men; but Yusuf afterwards dressed and beat the victor, riding with great dexterity, and attracting the spontaneous applause of all the spectators. The Kaïd trembled whilst contending with Yusuf, who was set down as a marabout in consequence by our chaouch.

I gave the Kaïd, who was a mild and respectful man, a handkerchief, a little bit of writing-paper, and some soap, and sent him off to his station, whence he had come on purpose to visit us. Three handkerchiefs formed also an appropriate present to the Sheikhs of Edree.

Yusuf has been reading an Arabic book, which I at first thought was some commentary on the Koran; but to-day I was undeceived. He related what he read; it reminded me of Gulliver's Travels. A tall man walks through the sea, cooks fish in the sun, and destroys a whole town, whose inhabitants had insulted him; by the same means that our comparative giant saved the palace of Lilliput from conflagration.

This evening it was announced as an event that the Zintanah, a servant of the Germans, was going to Tripoli, having resolved to return home. Some said one thing about him, some another; but most, "He's afraid of the fever of Mourzuk." The fellow came afterwards to me, asking for letters to Tripoli. I told him to go about his business; that he was a man of words and had no heart, otherwise he would

continue with us to Mourzuk. I wished to discourage such acts of desertion, for they produce always a bad effect. My German companions seemed glad to get rid of him.

We started again on Sunday morning (the 28th). This was our first day of sand. We had almost forgotten that there was such a thing as sand in the desert; but we shall have two days more of the same kind of travelling, to keep us in mind of this unpleasant truth. However, we were glad enough to leave Edree. Our marabout, comparing this place with El-Wady, for which we are now journeying, says, "Edree is like a jackass; El-Wady is like a camel!" Yusuf calls Edree "the city of camel-bugs." These vermin are the leeches of the camels. During the morning we passed two or three forests of palms, and afterwards traversed a flat valley, where was a little herbage. The people said: "There is no tareek (track): the tareek is in our heads." Bou Keta noted the route in many parts by the presence of camels' dung; but the shape of the sandhills in these parts seems to be perfectly familiar to these men. We saw one or two lizards, but no birds or other signs of life, except two brown-black Fezzanees, trudging over the desert.

At four in the afternoon, after a day of hot wind, we encamped in Wady Guber, where there is water two or three feet below the surface; and a small

forest of palms belonging to our camel-drivers, having descended to them in small groups from their grandfathers.

Next day (29th) we again went on over the sand, which extends beyond Ghadamez and Souf, to the west, and even to Egypt on the east. It is met at different points by the khafilahs, and crossed in different numbers of days. We found it very hard work to cross it, and understood why, in these parts, the words *raml*, sand, and *war*, difficult, have become convertible terms. Bou Keta had considerable trouble in keeping to the route, being reduced to depend chiefly on the camels' dung, which rolls about the surface of the sand. Here and there was a patch of coarse herbage, scattered like black spots on the bright, white surface. Every object was very much magnified at a little distance; I saw what seemed to me to be a horse on the top of one of the hills, but on drawing near it proved to be our own greyhound bitch smelling the hot air.

Bou Keta gave some account of himself to-day. It seems that "Fezzanee" is not a very respectable epithet in those countries.

"I am not a Fezzanee," said Bou Keta, abruptly.

"Then what are you?"

"My mother was a Tuarick woman, and my father one of the Walad Suleiman."

"Then the Walad Suleiman are gentlemen, whilst the Fezzanees are Turks and dogs?"

"That's the truth," quoth he.

To-day I found the veil of my sister-in-law of essential service. Doubled, it shielded my eyes perfectly from the hot wind and sand. It serves also as an excellent protection for the eyes against the flies whilst I am writing. This is the second day of the hot wind. In the evening we heard crickets singing in the scorching sand. At mid-day the thermometer, when buried, rose to 122° Fahr. We encamped in Wady El-Makmak, where we had good water, far superior to that at Guber. As in nearly all sandy places, a hole is scooped in the sand and then covered over, or left to be filled by the action of the wind after the khafilah is supplied. Two pretty palms point, as with two fingers, to the buried wells of El-Makmak.

Some of our people noticed the lizard to-day. This seems to be the omnipresent animal of the Sahara, inhabiting its most desolate regions when no other living creature is seen. It changes in species with the nature of the country. To-day, those seen are large; very soon they will become small, meagre, and will change colour. In the valleys I have observed them nearly the same colour as the sandy soil. Perhaps the beetle is nearly as common as the lizard in the desert, being found in its most arid and naked wastes. It is generally a big, round, black-bottle beetle, which produces a trail in the sand that may be mistaken for that of the serpent.

Still the following day we had to cross the same

kind of desert, under the enervating influence of the gheblee, or hot wind; the thermometer in the sand reached 130°. Although the camels were eight hours on foot, little progress was made. I stopped an hour to rest in Wady El-Jumar, where were two or three palm-groves. One of the Fezzanees ferreted out a lot of dates, hidden in the sand, and taking some distributed them amongst us.

Thus refreshed we pushed on to encamp in Wady El-Takadafah, where there is a well of water, good to drink, but disagreeable in smell, like that of Bonjem. The odour resembles that of a sewer, and is produced by hydrogen of sulphur. We have had good water every day in this sandy tract, and I have no doubt that some may be found in every wady, a little below the surface. Birds begin now to reappear: a few swallows, a dove, and some small twitterers, were seen to give life to the otherwise melancholy wadys.

Dr. Overweg examined the sand, which rolled in great heaps on every side, and found it to consist of grains of four kinds,—white, yellow, red, and black; the latter colour caused by the presence of iron. These variegated sands form the basis of sandstone, and may be a decomposition of sandstone. The sand near Tripoli is of a finer sort, consisting mostly of a decomposition of limestone. There is a blue-black earth in the wadys, arising from the wood, a species of crumbling coal.

This evening we had a famous *embroglio* be-

tween our chaouch and the marabout. The latter had caught a waran, or large species of lizard, and skinned it to dispose of the skin. The chaouch impudently swore he had been eating the flesh of the reptile—a direful accusation. A tremendous war of words ensued; and not of words only, for presently the holy man came in for a gratification of ropes' end. All the Fezzanees rushed forward to save the honour of the marabout; and the chaouch retreated to my tent in search of arms. A stupid joke was on the point of leading to murder. I interfered, and succeeded in appeasing the storm in some degree. I then rated the chaouch soundly for beating a man invested with a sacred character in the eyes of all Musulmans. This produced a good effect, and the culprit, hanging his head, seemed ashamed of the part he had played. Subsequently he kissed the hand of the holy man, and they were reconciled.

## CHAPTER V.

More sandy Desert—Fatiguing March—Water and Herbage—Water-drinking—Sight the Plateau of Mourzuk—Hot Wind—Arrival in El-Wady—Tuaricks—Laghareefah—Fezzanees—The Chaouches astray—The Sheikh Abd-el-Hady—Description of the Oasis—Tempest—Native Huts—Official Visits—Desert News—Camel-drivers—Ruins of Azerna—Move on—The Kaïd—Modest Requests—Ladies of the Wady—Leave the Oasis—Vast Plain—Instinct of the Camel—Reach Agar—Reception—Precede the Caravan—Reach Mourzuk—Mr. Gagliuffi—Honours paid to the Mission—Acting Pasha—Climate—Route from Tripoli—Its Division into Zones—Rain in the Desert.

On the 1st of May we had an arduous piece of work to perform. The khafilah was in motion fourteen entire hours, over heavy sand, with the hot wind breathing fiercely upon it. No amateur walking was indulged in. Every one kept sullenly to his camel; and those who were obliged to advance on foot dragged slowly along, seeming every moment as if they were about to abandon all exertion in despair, and lie down to perish. Our course lay mostly south, as usual; but varied occasionally from south-east to south-west. The scene was one of the most singular that could be imagined. Camels and men were scattered along the track, treading slowly but continually forward, and yet not seeming to ad-

vance at all. Instead of the cheering cry of "*Isa! Isa!*" which urges on the burdened beasts over rocky deserts, the dull, prolonged sound of "*Thurr! Thurr!*" was substituted. Beyond this there was no noise. The men had no strength to talk or to sing, and the tread of many feet awaken no echo in the sandy waste. Waves of red and yellow, or of dazzling whiteness, swelled round in a circle of ever-varying diameter as we rose and fell. Here and there stretched great stains of black herbage. Every object is magnified and changed to the eye. The heat and the swinging motion of the camel produce a slight dizziness; and the outer world assumes a hazy indistinctness of outline—something like dream-landscapes. There is a desert-intoxication which must be felt to be appreciated.

We must not, however, libel even the Sandy Desert, by producing the impression that it is all barren and comfortless. Though far more difficult to travel over than the Hamadah, it possesses the inestimable advantage of having water every day once at least. A little after noon, indeed, we passed two lakes; one small, and the other of considerable dimensions, containing sweet water, and bordered by a fringe of palm-trees. At times there is very good herbage for the camels. The most frequent shrub on which they browse is the *resou*, which has small ears of grain, eaten also by men as food. Traces of animal life, as I have observed, are few; but we saw this day two broken ostrich-eggs. How they

came there it is difficult to say: no traces or foot-marks have been remarked.

At length I had begun to find drinking a necessity. During these days of sand I imbibed more than during the whole of the rest of the journey. The eating of dates added to my thirst; and the blacks complained of the same thing. Dates are much better in the winter, and keep the cold out of the stomach; but I should recommend all Saharan travellers to eat as few of them as possible, at any season of the year.

During this last day, beyond the expanse of sandy waves through which we swam, as it were, had risen ahead some very conspicuous mountains. Even at five in the morning we could see detached along the line of the horizon the highest and most advanced portion of the edge of the plateau of Mourzuk. In three hours the white line of cliffs came in view, looking like a stretch of black-blue sea, contrasting strangely with the sparkling white-sand undulations that stretched to their feet. Some of us thought that an inland sea—never before heard of—had rolled its waters athwart our path, so perfect was the illusion. The heavens, this day particularly, attracted our attention. What a sky! how beautiful! The ground was a soft, light azure; and on its mildly resplendent surface were scattered loosely about some downy, feathery clouds, of the purest white — veils manufactured in celestial looms!

We expected to reach our premeditated halting-

ground about noon, or before, these cliffs seeming so near. But as day wore on, new expanses of glittering desert seemed to stretch out before us; and every hillock gained disclosed only the existence of new hillocks ahead. Meanwhile the hot wind still blew with unremitting violence, scorching our faces, and penetrating to the inmost recesses of our frames. The poor blacks, who were on foot, gazed wistfully ahead, and ever and anon called to those who were nodding on the camels, as if stunned by the heat, to tell them if they might hope for rest. I found my eyesight dimming, and deafness coming on. The thermometer was plunged into the sand, and the mercury instantly mounted to above 130°.

At length we sighted the wady, stretching like a green belt between the sand and the mountains beyond. We found that we had been traversing an elevated swell of the desert, for we were full three quarters of an hour descending to the level of the valley.

The first specimen of inhabitants we saw on arriving was a group of naked children with their mother, who covered herself up in her barracan on our approach. The children were nearly all females, and even those of not more than three or four years of age seemed wonderfully developed. They had formed a house out of a thick bush of wild palms over the well.

These people are what are called Tuaricks of Fezzan. They are a dwarfish, slim race; and the

Fezzanees call them *their* Arabs. They cover up their faces like their kindred of Ghât, but have for the most part white *thelems* instead of black. A few sport a red fotah, or turban. They speak Arabic commonly, but some know also the language of Ghât; which fact connects them certainly with that country. Their proper name is Tanelkum, a genuine Tuarick word, and decisive of their Targhee origin. Their trade is chiefly camel-driving between Ghât and Fezzan. They are a fairer and finer race than the Fezzanees, and do not intermarry with them. Their numbers are not great, perhaps scarcely more than a thousand souls in all Fezzan; but they live in a state of entire independence, and pay no contributions to the Porte.

We passed the first well and came up with the true Fezzanees at the village of Laghareefah, where we encamped. It is situated in Wady Gharbee, more properly called El-Wady *par excellence*, on account of its superior fertility and culture. There is also Wady Sherky, and several others; as Etsaou, Akar, Um-el-Hammâm, Takruteen, and Aujar. The people of Laghareefah are all of a black-brown hue, and some had the ordinary negro features. They were a little rude at first, but made some compensation in the evening by sending us a good supply of meat and fresh bread to our tents.

To our surprise, we saw nothing of our chaouches here; and on making inquiries, we found that they were not with the caravan. They were known to

have pushed on ahead, impatient to arrive. We suspected they had taken the wrong route, and did not remember to have seen the track of their horses' hoofs on the sand as we advanced. At first we were not sorry that they were suffering a little for their bad conduct all the way from Tripoli, to which I have only made passing allusions. But then we began to be alarmed for their safety, and begged the Sheikh to send a man after them with water. They did not make their appearance until morning, when we learned that with immense fatigue they had succeeded in striking the valley lower down at another village, where they had tarried the remainder of the night. As might be expected, they were in no good humour after their excursion in the sand; but our people, who had enjoyed a brief respite of unwonted tranquillity during their absence, instead of condoling with them, received them with laughter and jeers.

The Sheikh Abd-el-Hady sent us breakfast, and he and his people were far more polite than yesterday. We learned that there was a caravan in the wady about to start for Ghât, and I took the opportunity to write to that place to produce a proper impression of our views and intentions, as I learned that a very erroneous one had gone abroad. The Sheikh and his elders came to ask me to *lend* them twelve mahboubs, to make up the amount of tribute now being collected by the agents of the Pasha of Mourzuk. Of course I did not consent, represent-

ing that I was at the outset of a long journey, and that the Pasha would certainly punish them if he ever heard that such a request had been made. As a solace for the disappointment, I gave the Sheikh three handkerchiefs and a pocket-knife. The Tuaricks came in for a little soap, an article seemingly in universal request.

El-Wady is a deep valley, lying like a moat between the elevated sandy desert and the plateau on which Mourzuk is situated. This plateau, at the distance of every few miles, juts out huge buttresses of perpendicular cliffs, which frown over the broken thread of green vegetation in the valley. Thick forests of palms stretch at various points along the low plain, where are springs plentifully furnished by filtration from the high ground on either hand. The various kinds of oasian culture are pursued here with success. Wheat and barley are produced in considerable quantities; and camels, asses, and goats find plentiful nourishment. The villages are numerous; but some contain only few men, and none exceed forty-five. Takarteebah, the largest place, pays four hundred and ninety mahboubs per annum, cultivates four thousand palms, yielding a hundred and fifty kafasses of dates, thirty of wheat, and eight of barley: it feeds eleven asses. I observed that all domestic animals, the goats especially, attain a very diminutive size in these oases, the nourishment for them being but scanty.

In this oasis the palm-groves are much more

dense than in any other I have seen. They almost merit the name of forests, both from their size and wild luxuriant appearance. The Fezzanees pay little attention to their culture, and when a tree falls it is frequently suffered to lie for months, even though it block up the public road. In contrast to the burning desert we had just traversed, these dense woods casting their shadows on the white sand produced a most pleasing effect. We eagerly wandered into the cool arcades, and watched with delight the doves and hippoes, and other birds, as they fluttered to and fro amidst the drooping leaves.

Laghareefah, like Edree, had been destroyed by the brilliant, though ruthless usurper, Abd-el-Galeel, on account of its resistance to his authority. The old town is at a little distance from the new, and was evidently a much better-built place, commanded by an earthen kasr or fortress.

On May 2d, we had a tempest of thunder and lightning to the south on the hills, produced by the intense heat of the morning, and its accumulation during the previous few days. Rain seemed to be falling at a distance of a few hours. In the evening the mercury still stood about 100°. The heat now was still very distressing. The wind came charged with dust that rolled in columns, like smoke beaten down by a tempest, across the surface of the valley. All the vegetation seemed withered, as if in an oven; and the wheat in the ear was brittle, as though roasted. There is a good deal of wheat in this

oasis. I observed an old woman reaping, and went to chat with her. Her sickle had a long handle, and the blade itself was narrow, but slightly bent and somewhat serrated. I tried it, and found that it answered its purpose very well, however rude in appearance.

I entered one of the huts made of palm-branches, and carelessly smeared with mud—an attempt at plastering that can hardly be called successful. The door was formed of rough planks of date-wood, and the flooring of hard-trodden earth, covered with mats. The principal article of furniture was, as usual, the small hand corn-mill, for nearly every person in the East is still his own miller. The huts, though rude in outward appearance, were dark, cool, and comfortable within. In the town itself, many of them are built entirely of mud; that is to say, of round mud balls, first moistened with water, and then dried in the sun. I entered several, and found that most were empty. Where we found people, they were courteous and cheerful in manners, and smiled at the curiosity with which I lifted up the wicker covers of their pots and jars. In one I found a little sour milk; in another, some bazeen; in another, a few dates soaking in water. A small vessel now and then occurred, full of oil; but this is the greatest luxury they possess.

None of the doors has either lock or key. The Fezzanee observed, "Strangers may steal, but Fezzanees never. All the dates remain securely on the

trees until gathered by the owners." It must be observed, however, that the anomaly of vast possessions being held by one man, who can scarcely consume or utilise the produce, whilst others have not a stone whereon to lay their heads, and depend even for a burial-place upon charity, is not to be observed in this barbarous country.

The children of the Wady, up to the age of seven or eight years, go about perfectly naked, which may partly account for the bronze-black colour of their skins. The Tuaricks are generally fairer than the Fezzanees, though some of these latter are fair as the Moors on the coast, whilst others are black as very niggers.

We received a visit from the Nather, or civil governor of the Wady. He is a Fezzanee, Abbas by name; and thankfully received the present of a handkerchief. The Kaïd, or military commander, is a Moor from Tripoli. Everybody seems interested about us, and there is a perfect flux of visits. All the authorities around seem to make our arrival a holiday. We are quite the fashion. The chaouch gets drunk in the evening on leghma, furnished by the Nather, who wants to worm out all the news; and there is little doubt that he has learned the whole truth, and a good deal more. El-Maskouas, the Turkish officer employed in collecting contributions for Mourzuk, arrived at the camp and brought letters from M. Gagliuffi. He also told us that the Sheikh of Aghadez had not yet returned from his pil-

grimage to Mekka. The motions of all these desert magnates are circulated from mouth to mouth as assiduously as those of our Mayfair fashionables.

Among our visitors was Haj Mohammed El-Saeedy, the owner of our camels. His social position answers to that of an English shipowner. He is a marabout of great celebrity in this country, and moves about in an atmosphere of respect. By the way, when it became clearly impressed upon my mind that the Fezzanee camel-drivers were merely employed for hire, and had no property whatever in the beasts they drove, my opinion of them began to rise. It would have been impossible to take more care of the camels than they did.

We remained stationary in the Wady, from the 1st of May to the evening of the 3d, when we moved on to Toueewah. After dark was passed Azerna, in the neighbourhood of which stood the ancient town, celebrated for its ruins. The modern place, though presenting a martial kind of appearance with its battlemented mud walls, contained only ten inhabitants, who live like so many rats in holes or under the piles of ruins. On the 4th, when the people removed our beds in the morning, a scorpion sallied furiously forth. We had been sleeping with him under our pillows. We moved on, still in the Wady, for a couple of hours, until we came to the house of the Kaïd, and once more encamped. His habitation is large, commodious, and well protected from the sun. He showed us his sleeping-apartment, which

is airy and well protected from the sun. A number of little wicker baskets, the handiwork of his wife, served as so many clothes-presses. The baskets of Fezzan are perfectly water-tight.

This Kaïd, called Ahmed Tylmoud, is quite a character, and looks very droll with his single eye. He has twenty soldiers only under his command throughout the valley. The Turks do not waste their men, making up by severity for want of numbers. Like the commandant of Shaty, this Ahmed Tylmoud insisted on "playing at powder" with his men for our edification; but was also obliged to beg his ammunition. It is singular, that although these people are only armed with matchlocks, and are supposed to be ready for service, either to defend the country or levy contributions, they seem entirely destitute of all necessary provisions for that purpose.

We were pestered with two very modest requests, which were not in our power to grant. In the first place, the native inhabitants sent a deputation to ask us to use our influence with the Governor of Mourzuk to procure a reduction of their taxes; and then the Arab troops desired that we should procure for them their discharge. Our refusal even to take the charge of these verbal petitions seemed very harsh. An impression had evidently got abroad that we came to bring about a general redress of grievances; or, at any rate, that our influence was far greater than we chose to avow.

I gave to the Kaïd a handkerchief, as well as some snuff and tobacco. In return, he sent a little bread and a fly-flapper; so that we parted good friends. During our stay, we heard this jolly fellow entertaining the chaouches and his own horsemen with a description of the ladies of the Wady, who had no reason to be flattered by his account. And yet he seems to have married one himself: *hinc illæ lachrymæ*, perhaps. My chaouch had already given me a confirmation of these libels, and was evidently greatly delighted by this testimony to his exactitude.

There are several roads from the Wady to Mourzuk, all much about the same distance. It is said, also, that Ghât is only ten days from Laghareefah. We moved on a little further on the evening of the 4th, but did not start properly until next day, when we made a long stretch of more than thirteen hours, and encamped at the village of Agar, where I remembered having halted once before on my way from Ghât. During this day's march we found, that what we had supposed to be the border of the Mourzuk plateau was not in reality so. We soon reached the summit of the cliffs, and having cast back a glance upon the valley, with its expanse of corn-fields and thousands of palm-trees, expected to find an elevated plateau beyond; but the hills gradually softened down into a plain on their eastern side. Our route may be said to have led through a wilderness, not a desert. On all sides were clusters of

the tholukh, which grows prettily up, and has a poetical appearance. The ground at some places was strewed with branches, cut down for the goats to feed on. Then we came to a small wady full of *resou*, which our marabout calls the "meat of the camel;" and all the camels at once stopped, and for a long time obstinately refused to proceed. This appeared strange to us, but on inquiry we found that the sagacious brutes remembered perfectly well that until the evening there would be no herbage so good, and were determined to have their fill whilst there was an opportunity. The drivers, after indulging them a few moments, took them in flank, and their shouts of "*Isa! Isa!*" and some blows, at length got the caravan out of this elysium of grass into the hungry plain beyond. As we proceeded, a cold bracing wind began to blow from the east, and considerably chilled our frames. I had met the same weather four years previously. Towards evening, however, it became warmer, as it usually does. The country was bare and level, like an expanse of dull-coloured water; and the palm-trees that cluster near the village rose slowly above the horizon as we drew nigh. The sun had gone down, and the plain stretched dim and shadowy around before we came in sight of the group of hovels which form the village. As I looked back, the scattered camels slowly toiling along could be faintly traced against the horizon.

The Sheikh of Agar received us well this time,

sending us two fowls and supper for our people. This place consists of huts made of palm-branches and of mud hovels, several of which are in ruins. The same remark constantly recurs in reference to almost all the towns of Barbary, both towards the coast and far in the interior. The vital principle of civilisation seems to have exhausted itself in those parts.

I was now in a country comparatively familiar to me, and knew that I had but one more ride to reach the capital of Fezzan. Rising early on the 6th, therefore, I determined to press on in advance of the caravan; and starting with warm weather, puffs of wind coming now from the south-east, now from the north-west, very unsteadily—the atmosphere was slightly murky, with sand flying about—I soon came in sight of the palm-groves of Mourzuk, without making any other rencontre than a Tuarick coursing over the desert in full costume. The old castle peeped picturesquely through the trees, but I had still a good way to go before reaching shelter. The sand and white earth that form the surface of the oasis near the town were painfully dazzling to my eyes.

At length I reached the suburbs, where a few people stared curiously at me. My arrival had been announced by the chaouches, who had gone on about a quarter of an hour before; and at the eastern gate the soldiers allowed me to pass without notice, or any allusion to *gumruk*. Mr. Gag-

liuffi had come out to meet me; but having taken a different gate we crossed, and I arrived on my camel at his house, and found it empty. My veil being down in the streets I was recognised by no one. The acting Governor had arranged to meet me with twenty horsemen, but I had taken them all quite unawares. The letters forwarded requesting us to make a halt in the suburbs, and then advance slowly in "holiday costume," for the sake of effect, had not reached me. However, they had hoisted the Ottoman flag on the castle, in honour of our expected arrival,—a compliment that had not before been paid to strangers, and one never offered at Tripoli.

Our German friends arrived shortly afterwards, and we all had a very hospitable reception from Mr. Gagliuffi, with whom we lodged. A few calls were made upon us in the evening, but we were glad enough to seek our beds. Next day the chief people of the city, the Kady and other dignitaries, began early to visit us. When we had exchanged compliments with them, we went in full European dress to wait on the acting Pasha. We found him to be a very quiet, unassuming man, who gave us a most kind and gentlemanlike reception, equal to anything of the kind of Tripoli. He is a Turk, and recognised me as having been before at Mourzuk. We had coffee, pipes, and sherbet made of oranges. Afterwards we visited the Treasurer, who also gave us coffee, and was very civil; and finally

called upon the brother of the Governor of Ghât; who was writing letters for us to-day.

I feel in better health than when I left Tripoli. Yet we are all a little nervous about the climate of Mourzuk, which is situated in a slight depression of the plain, in a place inclined to be marshy. The Consul has just recovered from a severe illness.

We had been, in all, thirty-nine days from Tripoli, a considerable portion of which time was spent in travelling. This makes a long journey; but I am told that our camel-drivers should have brought us by way of Sebha, and thus effected a saving of three or four days. The greater portion of our sandy journey was unnecessary, and merely undertaken that these gentlemen might have an opportunity of visiting their wives and families.

On a retrospective view of the route from Tripoli to Mourzuk, *viâ* Mizdah, I am inclined to divide the country, for convenience sake, into a series of zones, or regions.

1st zone. This includes the sandy flat of the suburbs of the town of Tripoli, with the date-palm plantations and the sand-hills contiguous.

2d zone. The mountains, or Tripoline Atlas, embracing the rising ground with their influence on the northern side, and the olive and fig plantations, covering the undulating ground on the southern side, where the Barbary vegetation is seen in all its vigour and variety. This may also be emphatically called the region of rain.

3d zone. The limestone hills and broad valleys, gradually assuming the aridity of the Sahara as you proceed southward, between the town of Kaleebah and Ghareeah; the olive plantations and cornfields disappear, entirely in this tract.

4th zone. The Hamadah, an immense desert plateau, separating Tripoli from Fezzan.

5th zone. The sandy valleys and limestone rocks between El-Hasee and Es-Shaty, where herbage and trees are found, affording food to numerous gazelles, hares, and the wadan.

6th. The sand between Shaty and El-Wady, piled in masses, or heaps, extending in undulating plains, and occasionally opening in small valleys with herbage and trees.

7th. The sandy valleys of El-Wady, covered with forests of date-palms, through which peep a number of small villages.

8th. The plateau of Mourzuk, consisting of shallow valleys, ridges of low sandstone hills, and naked flats, or plains, sometimes of sand, at others covered with pebbles and small stones.

All these zones beyond the Atlas are visited by only occasional showers, or are entirely without rain, the vegetation depending upon irrigation from wells. I do not go into further detail on this subject, because, although our line of route was new, this stretch of country is tolerably well known to the geographical reader.

I have omitted to mention, or to lay much stress

on the fact, that we were unable to procure sufficient camels at Tripoli to convey our goods all the way to Mourzuk. We were compelled to leave three camel-loads behind, in the first place, at Gharian; these were subsequently got on to Kaleebah, and thence to Mizdah: but there the influence of Izhet Pasha's circular letter entirely failed to procure for us three extra camels, and we were compelled to push on to Mourzuk, leaving part of our goods in the oasis. This circumstance caused me a great deal of annoyance, both on the route and after our arrival, for it was a long time before we got in all our baggage. However, it at last arrived, and the delay only served to illustrate the difficulty of procuring conveyance in these dismal countries, and to lead us into considerable expense.

## CHAPTER VI.

The Oasis of Fezzan — Population—Ten Districts — Their Denomination and Condition — Sockna—Honn — Worm of the Natron Lakes — Zoueelah — Mixed Race — Improvements in Mourzuk — Heavy Ottoman Yoke — Results of the Census — Amount of Revenue—Military Force — Arab Cavaliers — Barracks — Method of Recruiting — Turkish System superior to French — Razzias — Population of Mourzuk — Annual Market — Articles of Traffic — Acting-Governor and his Coadjutors—Story of a faithless Woman — Transit Duties in Fezzan — Slave Trade—Sulphur in the Syrtis — Proposed Colony from Malta.

THE Pashalic of Fezzan, although it occupies a considerable space upon the map—advancing like a peninsula from the line of Barbary countries into the Sahara—is in reality a very insignificant province. From all that I can learn, its entire population does not exceed twenty-six thousand souls, scattered about in little oases over a vast extent of country. It is, in fact, a portion of the Sahara, in which fertile valleys occur a little more frequently than in the other portions. Immense deserts, sometimes perfectly arid, but at others slightly sprinkled with herbage, separate these valleys; and are periodically traversed by caravans, great and small, which in the course of time have covered the country with a perfect network of tracks.

Fezzan is divided into ten districts, of which the principal is El-Hofrah, containing the capital, Mourzuk, and several smaller towns. It is here and there besprinkled with beautiful gardens, in which are cultivated, besides the date-palm, several of the choicest fruits that grow on the coast—as figs, grapes, peaches, pomegranates, and melons. In these gardens, as in most of the oases of the desert, the-fruit trees that require most protection from the sun are planted between the palms, which make a kind of roof with their long leaves. Abd-el-Galeel destroyed many of these groves to punish their owners, refractory to his authority.

Two crops are obtained in the year: in the spring, barley and wheat are reaped; and in the summer and autumn, Indian corn, ghaseb, and other kinds of grain. All the culture is carried on by means of irrigation, the water being thrown over the fields by means of runnels of various dimensions twice in the day; that is, once early in the morning, and once late in the afternoon until dark.

Wady Ghudwah is a single town with gardens, and the other features common to all the Fezzan oases.

Sebha includes two towns, having a considerable population, with gardens and date-palms.

Bouanees includes three towns, well peopled, and has immense numbers of date-palms.

El-Jofrah contains the second capital or large town of the pashalic, Sockna, built of stones and

mud, with nine or ten smaller towns, all tolerably populous.

Sockna is situated midway between Mourzuk, and Tripoli, and is about fourteen days from the former. The inhabitants are Moors, and, besides Arabic, speak a Berber dialect. Sockna is celebrated for its fine sweet dates, called kothraee; and there is abundance of every kind of this fruit. A considerable quantity of grain is sown—wheat and barley—and the gardens abound with peaches. The town of Honn, distant about two hours from this place, is nearly as large, and also surrounded with gardens.

Wady Gharby, and Es-Shaty, have already been described. In the sands between these two places are situated the celebrated natron lakes, in which that miraculous dud ("worm") spontaneously appears at certain seasons of the year, and is eaten as people in Europe eat sardines—to sharpen the appetite. The natron is also a source of profitable exportation. Wady Sharky almost exactly resembles Wady Gharby, in population and natural features.

Sharkeeah, besides some insignificant places, includes the interesting ancient capital called Zoueelah, whence the name of Zoilah is given by the Tibboos to all Fezzan. Half the population of this place consists of Shereefs, and there are indeed great and increasing numbers of this class of persons throughout the whole country.

Ghatroun includes, with Tajerby the most southern place of Fezzan, three small towns. The inhabitants are all black, speaking the Tibbooese and Bornouese languages, and very little Arabic. The other nine districts above enumerated contain a mixed race, like the population of Mourzuk; but some of the northern towns are inhabited by people of purer blood, with comparatively fair complexions.

Mourzuk itself, the seat of the Pashalic,—distant about four hundred and twenty miles from Tripoli, in a straight line, and five hundred, counting the sinuosities of the road, *viâ* Benioleed, Bonjem, and Sockna,—is a rising town, becoming daily more salubrious by the improvements made since the residence of the Turks here, and the subjection of the inhabitants to a more orderly and powerful government than they had been accustomed to. The British Consul, Mr. Gagliuffi, has rendered important aid to the administration, in embellishing the appearance of Mourzuk, and giving it the air and character of a Turkish city of the coast. Our camel-drivers pretend that it is already superior to Tripoli. At the Consul's suggestion a colonnade has been built in the main street, in front of the shops, affording shelter from the fiery rays of the summer sun, as well as being an agreeable place for the natives to lounge under and make their purchases. He was also the principal promoter of the erection of new barracks for the troops, and the appropriation of a large house as a hospital for the poor. His last improve-

ment is the plantation of a garden of the choice fruit-trees and vegetables of the coast; and his example has been imitated by the Bim Bashaw, commandant of the troops, who is now laying out a garden in a conspicuous part of the city.

Since the departure of Abd-el-Galeel with his Arab followers, the Walad Suleiman, for the neighbourhood of Bornou, the province of Fezzan has certainly enjoyed profound tranquillity. But on account of heavy taxation, high customs' dues, and other clogs to free commerce, the people are sinking deeper and deeper into poverty and wretchedness, and, except in the capital, there is a general retrograde movement. The Ottoman yoke is a peculiarly heavy one: it keeps the people in order, but it crushes them; and perhaps the Fezzanees may now regret somewhat the wholesome anarchy that distinguished the Arab chieftain's reign.

As I have said, the entire population of the ten districts of Fezzan is, according to the last Turkish census, only about twenty-six thousand souls, of whom about eleven thousand are males, including the children. The disproportion of the sexes arises in part from the number of female slaves, in part from the emigration of the men to the commercial countries of the interior, either for temporary gain, or permanently to escape from the grinding weight of taxation.

The whole amount of revenue collected by the Government is estimated at fifty thousand mahboubs per annum. Twenty-three thousand of

these are raised by direct taxation, whilst the remainder is produced by customs' dues and the date-palm groves, which are the property of Government.

The military force by which the Turks hold possession of this vast but thinly-peopled territory—stretching north and south twenty-one days' journey, or about three hundred miles—is the very inconsiderable number of six hundred and thirty men. The garrison of Mourzuk itself consists of four hundred and thirty men, of whom about one-half are Fezzanees, twenty or thirty Turks, and the residue Arabs or Moors. The remaining three hundred are Arab cavaliers, living chiefly on their own means, and changed every year, who serve as a flying corps, or mounted police, for all the districts of Fezzan. The rate of pay for this latter class is one kail of wheat and half a mahboub per month for those who have no horses, and one kail of dates additional for those who are mounted. This division, however, is fastidious at present, as all those on service in Fezzan are now possessed of horses. In the whole regency of Tripoli there are but six hundred and sixty of these Arab soldiers; but in Bonjem and the Syrtis they are not cavalry, and the detachment at Ghadamez is mixed.* I am afraid these janissaries are obliged to

* The distribution of the corps is as follows :—

| | |
|---|---|
| In Gibel .. .. .. .. | 150 |
| Fezzan .. .. .. .. | 200 |
| The Syrtis .. .. .. | 150 |
| Bonjem .. .. .. .. | 60 |
| Ghadamez .. .. .. | 100 |

commit spoliations in the towns and districts where they are stationed to avoid starvation.

I visited the barracks of Mourzuk, and found them to be commodious, and apparently salubrious. The good living of these stationary troops surprised me. They have meat and excellent soup every day, with rice and biscuit. The Fezzanee is never so well fed and well clothed and lodged as when he is a soldier. Indeed the men seem too well off, in comparison with their former state and with the rest of the population. Nevertheless, they are glad to escape when the time of their service expires. The people all dread being made soldiers; so that Government is compelled to resort to the most paltry tricks to get recruits. Men are often unjustly charged with theft or debt, and put in prison, and then let out as a favour to be enlisted, or sometimes are clapped into the ranks at once. Youths have been seized as soldiers for kicking up the dust in front of a sentinel and dirtying his clothes. I remarked the number of soldiers that were black, and the Bim Bashaw observed that he hoped the time would come when there would not be a white private left in Mourzuk. The Turks manage to do with twenty or thirty of their own people, mostly officers, in this garrison; but, by one method or another, get as many Fezzanee recruits as they want.

The Turkish system is vastly superior to the French in this important matter of garrisoning their possessions in Northern Africa. The latter require one hundred men where the Turks are content with

one to hold the country. Perhaps one of the chief reasons may be the difference of religion. The Arabs and other natives of North Africa cannot endure the sight of a ruler of another faith. Something, however, may be attributed to the immense and sacred authority of the Ottoman Sultan, the great chief of the Mussulmans of the East, as the Shereefan Emperor of Morocco is the chief of the Mussulmans of the West. We may add, also, the tremendous severity of the Turkish criminal law, or, rather, the inexorable justice with which a crime committed against a Turkish functionary is visited. The French make their razzias and strike off heads enough; but their criminal code in Algeria is perhaps not so summary and sanguinary as that of the Turks. Possibly one of the chief reasons of this curious contrast may be the fact that the French soldier is scarcely to be depended on when isolated. He acts well in masses, but considers himself deserted and betrayed when left comparatively alone. At any rate, the fact is that the Turks hold Tripoli with a handful of men, whilst the French, with a military force nearly as large as the whole British army, can scarcely maintain a feverish and uncertain possession of Algeria.

The population of Mourzuk numbers two thousand souls. It is very much mixed, and the people vary greatly in colour, so that there is no general character. There are more women than children, the greater portion of the females belonging to the

members of the great winter caravans. Contrary to what I had been told, these women seem to be rather remarkable for modesty and virtue than otherwise. It is worth observing, that Fatamah, the proper name of Mahomet's daughter, is here used, by excess of delicacy, to describe the softer sex, more especially ladies.

From October to January, as at Ghât, there is a large annual souk, or market, at Mourzuk. One general caravan comes from Bornou and Soudan every year during the winter season, and small bodies of merchants also go up and down to Soudan in the summer; whilst to Bornou there is no intermediate trade. Caravans also congregate here from Egypt, Bengazi, Tripoli, Ghadamez, Ghât, and Tuat. From forty thousand to sixty thousand Spanish dollars is the value of the merchandise that usually changes hands during the great mart. The principal articles of traffic from the interior are slaves, senna, and ivory. This is the first year that a hundred and fifty cantars of elephants' teeth have been brought from Bornou; sixty or seventy of these were consigned to one merchant, forty were on account of the Vizier of Bornou, and the remainder belonged to Arab traders. This export of elephants' teeth direct *viâ* Fezzan has only lately been opened. Some manufactured cottons are likewise brought from Soudan, and sell easily in this part of the Sahara, especially amongst the Tuaricks. Besides, there are exported bullocks' and goats' skins, and a small

quantity of ostrich feathers. The gum trade has lately been introduced into Fezzan by the British Consul, and one hundred cantars per annum are already collected from the tholukh-trees.

The acting Governor of Fezzan always resides at Mourzuk. His principal coadjutors in the despatch of affairs are a Kady with two secretaries, a Sheikh or mayor of the city, some respectable men who act as privy councillors, the Wakeels of Bengazi, Augila, Sokna, &c.

A little story may find its place here, as an apt illustration of the state of society and manners in this out-of-the-way capital. A married woman preferred another man to her husband, and frankly confessed that her affections had strayed. Her lord, instead of flying into a passion, and killing her on the spot, thought a moment, and said,—

"I will consent to divorce you, if you will promise one thing."

"What is that?" inquired the delighted wife.

"You must looloo to me only when I pass on the day of the celebration of your nuptials with the other man."

Now it is the custom for women, under such circumstances, to looloo (that is, salute with a peculiar cry) any handsome male passer-by. However, the woman promised, the divorce took place, and the lover was soon promoted into a second husband. On the day of the wedding, however, the man who had exacted the promise passed by the camel on

which the bride was riding, and saluted her, as is the custom, with the discharge of his firelock. Upon this she remembered, and looked to him. The new bridegroom, enraged at this marked preference, noticing that she had not greeted any one else, and thinking possibly that he was playing the part of a dupe, instantly fell upon his bride and slew her. He had scarcely done so when the brothers of the woman came up and shot him down; so that the first husband compassed ample vengeance without endangering himself in the slightest degree. This is an instance of Arab cunning.

A subject of considerable importance was brought under my attention at Mourzuk. It appears that whilst the objects of legitimate commerce, in being exported from the interior to Fezzan and Tripoli, pay double duties—that is, twelve and a-half per cent in each place—slaves pay no transit duty whatever in this regency of Barbary if they are destined for the Constantinople market, and even if sold in Tripoli or Fezzan only pay once a duty of ten mahboubs per head. It frequently happens besides that the Turkish merchants, who embark with their slaves for Constantinople, sell a considerable number on the way. On arriving at their destination, they pretend that such as are missing from their register have died; and in this manner they contrive to evade the payment of all duty whatever. It has been attempted to get the impost of ten mahboubs paid in Mourzuk, and likewise to

force all the caravans to take that route. This would have acted as a check upon the slave-trade; but the influence of the Gadamsee merchants was too great to allow the measure to be carried out. It is most important that the legitimate trade should not be burdened with double custom-dues, and it is to be hoped that the influence of the British Government will be used to bring about some reform in this matter. We should bear in mind, that as most of the goods and merchandise passing through Fezzan are only in transit, they are therefore legally subject to a duty of no more than three per cent.

I have paid as much attention to this subject of the encouragement of the legitimate trade as my time and other occupations would allow me. It will be as well to make a note here on another point, though it may seem out of place,—the existence of sulphur in the Syrtis. There appears no doubt that this substance can be procured at the foot of a mountain called Gebel Sinoube, about six miles from the sea at the innermost point of the Syrtis. A considerable quantity is obtained by the Arabs near this mountain, about eighteen camel-hours south-west from a place on the coast called Maktar, the eastern limits of the district Syrt. There is also good sulphur found in the Gebel-Harouj, five or six days east from Sokna. But what is really the per-centage of pure sulphur on the rough masses of the mines is not ascertained; nor is the quality precisely known, except that of the Harouj mountain. Accurate in-

formation could only be procured by despatching a trustworthy Sicilian miner to make a report. Perhaps these mines could only be brought into profitable working in the event of the stoppage of a supply from Sicily. It has been proposed to establish a colony of Maltese at Zafran, on the shore of the Syrtis. If this idea were carried out, the sulphur mines might by this means be brought into play.

## CHAPTER VII.

### DIARY OF RESIDENCE AT MOURZUK.

Sickness of Gagliuffi — Baggage left at Mizdah — Runthar Aga—The Hospital—Various Visits — Arrival of the New Governor — Animated Scene — Correspondence—Visit Mustapha Agha—Bragging Sheikh Boro — Tibboos of Tibesty — Curious Country — Presents to Turkish Functionaries — A Woman divorced — Haj Lameen—Presents expected—Brilliant Atmosphere—Water-Melons — The Gardens—Winnowing Grain — Houses of Salt Mud — Nymphs of the Gardens — Wells — Presents to Functionaries — Phrenology—Queen's Birthday — Walks in the Orchards and Gardens — Corn-threshing — Kingdom of Aheer—Ass's Head — A Wedding — A Funeral—Great Dinner—Tibboos—Prepare to depart—The Pilgrim Caravan; its Privileges — Tuat and the French — Departure of Germans—Wife of Es-Sfaxee—An Arab Saying — Letters — Disease — Arrival of Escort — Eastern Consulates — Business—Hateetah—The Son of Shafou—Poor Sheikhs—Hard Bargain.

*May 7th.*—We are already busy with preparations for our start to the interior. Mr. Gagliuffi has written to Ghât to-day for Hateetah and his escort of Tuaricks. Excitement protects us, perhaps, from the deadly influence of the climate of Mourzuk. Mr. Gagliuffi is recovering from a severe attack, and anticipates being obliged to leave for the coast. We trust he will not be driven from his post whilst we are in Soudan. However, we must

trust to the same Providence that has hitherto watched over us.

I am having all our letters of recommendation for the interior copied, to be sent home to Government, so that if anything happen to us they may know what kind of support we have received. If anything happen! The presence of that doubt gives a solemnity and an importance to the most trifling thing we do. A soldier is allowed to indulge in serious thought before going into battle, and the chances in his favour are greater than those in ours. We, too, may have to do battle with men; but the dangers of the desert are also arrayed against us, and when they are passed, the miasmas of Central Africa fill the air beyond.

The marabout, with his camel and burden, has not yet come up; he left us to visit his country. We are likewise still without news of three camel-loads left behind at Mizdah. There is always a train of stragglers behind every caravan that is not huddled together by fear. We should never have procured beasts enough on the road, and did well to take them direct from Tripoli. The Pasha's circular letter was of little or no use in this respect; and, indeed, we could not expect it to cause camels to start out of the ground.

*8th.*—I paid a visit to the commandant of the troops, Runthar Aga, Bim Bashaw, quite a Christian Moor; and got information on military affairs whilst tasting the soup in the kitchen. Also called

upon our old friend the Doctor, and inspected the hospital, which certainly holds out no temptation to a man to be ill. The patients are few: two have strong fevers; five or six are convalescent; the sick-list contains no other cases; but it will be different when summer comes on.

9*th*.—Received a visit from the acting Governor, and presented him with a bottle of snuff. Like other great men, this Pasha makes a great consumption of rappee, and empties nearly a box a-day.

10*th*.—The military seem to have taken a fancy to us. Here comes the Commandant, to return our call, with all the officers of the garrison. Smiles and courtesy are the order of the day. Dr. Overweg brings out some of his scientific instruments, and the knowing ones have an opportunity of showing their ignorance. All passes off well. Mr. Gagliuffi observes: "You would not have had so much attention paid to you in Tripoli." Possibly; but this may partly be accounted for by the rarity of Europeans at Mourzuk. Familiarity has not had time to breed contempt.

11*th*.—There is excitement in the town. What news? The new acting Governor, my old acquaintance of Ghadamez, Rais Mustapha, is in sight, hull above the horizon. We all go out to meet him, and soon see his *cortège* breaking between the groves. This is the gayest and most spirited scene I have witnessed since leaving Tripoli. Mus-

tapha brings his staff and 200 Arab cavaliers with him, to relieve the Fezzan irregulars. They make a gallant-looking body of men as they come swiftly on. All the authorities of the town, with whatever cavalry is already collected here, pour out of the gates to pay their compliments; and then come crowds of the lower classes of citizens, with their rude bagpipes, which scream discordantly. The horsemen galloped hither and thither in the plain whilst the interview between the great men took place, and effectually drowned all the polite things that were said by their trampling and hurrahing. We rode up likewise to welcome the new great man. Mustapha looked well, was excellently mounted, and dressed almost like an European officer. He smiled graciously on seeing his old friend of Ghadamez, and shook me by the hand; he also recognised the Germans, having seen them at Zaweeah, near Tripoli. Satisfied with this little interview, we drew aside, and the procession moved towards the gate. There was instantly a rush of the Arab horsemen, every one trying to get in front; and as the entry was narrow an obstruction soon took place. We drew aside, and called out to those who were pressing on to make way for the Governor. One fellow would not hear; and Mustapha himself riding up, lashed him with a small whip across the shoulders. Bad taste; but perhaps excusable in this case, if ever. These lawless soldiery can never be taught good manners, with-

out which true discipline is impossible. However, we at length got within the gate, and the procession poured along the streets, the women *loo-looing* as we passed, the bagpipes shrieking louder than ever, the crowd buzzing, the horses thundering, the cavaliers shouting. In fine, this hubbub carried us quite back into the regions of civilisation, where men collect on public occasions often without any real joy, and by mere process of action and reaction succeed in working themselves up into a state of boisterous enthusiasm.

Several days were now chiefly occupied in writing reports on the progress made by the expedition hitherto; and in voluminous correspondence on petty matters—petty, I mean, in themselves, but very important to us—all connected with our future proceedings. I forwarded to the Foreign Office a letter addressed by the Sultan Laoul, of the Tibboos of Bilma, to Mr. Gagliuffi. It appears these people are now nominally subject to the Ottoman Porte.

12*th*.—We went to pay a visit to Mustapha Agha, my old friend of Ghadamez. He received us with all the honours—a guard of officers, pipes, coffee, and sherbet. That important subject of health was a good deal talked of. Mustapha fears the climate of Fezzan, and finds little consolation in the doctrines of fatalism. He seemed surprised at the bulk of the despatches last forwarded from the Consulate, and asked if we all knew how to write. He cannot understand the necessity of minute

directions. We explained as well as we could ; and then talked of the journeys we had respectively performed. This gave Mustapha an opportunity of astonishing us in his Turkish way. He said that he had come with 200 men and 300 camels from Tripoli in sixteen days, having stopped only one day, and travelled regularly from three in the afternoon to nine next morning. We marvelled, as in duty bound ; but refrained not from making inquiries ; the result of which was, that the real time was thirty-one days, only eight days less than we had occupied. We did not scold Mustapha for his exaggeration, but might perhaps have done so without offence. When a Turk does tell a lie, he submits to be accused of it with good-humour.

After leaving the hyperbolical Governor, we went to see Sheikh Mohammed Boro, Sakontaroua of Aghadez, who has arrived here *en route* from Mekka. He was recommended to us by Hassan Pasha of Tripoli; but Mr. Gagliuffi does not think much of him. We shall see.

14*th*.—Walked in the gardens, and were pleased with their aspect. On returning, I wrote out the different kinds of datesin this country. We saw some Egyptian camels with a pilgrim caravan, of a dark and almost black colour.

My Fezzanee marabout, by the way, has left Mourzuk, after making me a present of some cakes and dates of dainty quality. He has been of great use to me, and I shall remember him with pleasure.

I had to-day a conversation with a Tibboo of

Tibesty. How interesting it is to talk with the natives of those untrodden countries, to which chance may some day lead us! He says Tibesty is ten days from Gatroun, and fourteen from Mourzuk. It is all mountainous, except one long wady where the population is located. There is no regular town; but all along the valley the population, which is said to be about 5000, though desert statistics are little to be credited, is scattered in groups of three or four, cultivating the ground and tending on the flocks which feed on the rich herbage, whilst goats scramble for food along the slopes of the boundary mountains. The people dwell either in huts or in caverns scooped out of the sides of hills, some of them very extensive. What a picture of primitive life! Families living separate, not yet driven to hide behind walls, or congregate in masses for safety. The desert is their bulwark. This place lies, indeed, far east of the caravan route from Bornou. There is no road direct eastward from Tibesty, but caravans can go south-east to Wadaï. The valley produces, besides other grain, a good quantity of ghaseb, which is the principal food of the inhabitants. Some palms rise here and there in clumps, but are not very productive; and dates are imported from Fezzan. The tree most frequent is the tholukh; but there is also another common tree, called the arak. In the open country, the wadan, the gazelle, and the ostrich are found, and the people hunt them with dogs. Good water is supplied by wells and streams,

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in sufficient quantities to irrigate the fields of ghaseb, wheat, and barley. Rain is abundant some years, but fails in others; torrents are continually descending from the mountains: one stream flows through a space of two days' journey. If these accounts be correct, the country must be one of the most interesting in Africa. They say, that on account the height of the mountains some of the inhabitants do not see the moon for fifteen days together. A Sultan rules paternally in this out-of-the-way country, where the Mohammedan religion reigns paramount. My informant made me pay three Tunisian piastres and two common handkerchiefs for a vocabulary of the language of the Tibboos of Tibesty. A visit to this singular oasis might repay a hardy traveller; but the people of the country have a faithless character, and it would be dangerous to trust to their promises of protection.

The Tibesty Tibboos must not be confounded with the Tibboos of the salt-mines of Bilma, who have recently made their submission to the Porte. There is little connexion between the people, although they speak a similar language. The Bilma Tibboos lie in the direct route to Bornou, and were fully studied by the Denham and Clapperton expedition.

15*th*. — Continue to prepare papers to send home. Report the fact, that the functionaries of Mourzuk trade in slaves.

16*th*.—I had lent Mustapha a sword; but, after keeping it a night, he was obliged to return it, send-

ing word that a firmân had been written to all the functionaries of the Porte, forbidding them to receive any presents,—an excellent measure, doing credit to the Sultan's administration. The great plague of the East is the system of bribery carried on under the form of presents. The pay of the Pasha is six hundred and fifty mahboubs per month, nearly all spent in the town.

17*th*.—The weather is extremely hot and sultry. The sun burns the umbrella if you pass for a few minutes under it. Even the natives complain of the extreme heat of the weather.

18*th*.—Not quite so oppressive; but, as Dr. Barth says, the south wind blows throughout Northern Africa in May.

20*th*.—This morning, the black who came with us, and had two wives, divorced one of them, returning the woman's dowry of thirty-seven Tunisian piastres. The divorce took place before the Kady in the open streets.

21*st*.—Haj Lameen came to see me. He does not forget to remind us that the Tuaricks expect many presents. I have no doubt they do. He says we must be generous at all the following places: — Ghât, Aheer, Aghadez, Damerghou, Zinder, Minyou, Tesaouah, Kashna, Kanou, Sakkatou, Bornou, Begharmi, Mandara, and to the Tibboos of Bilma; not to mention the intermediate towns and villages. However, if the presents be valuable, we may expect in some places rations of

food in return. It is worthy of remark, that this said Haj Lameen, brother of the governor of Ghât, took an oath during the past year that he would never again purchase slaves. This is a remarkable instance of the progress of opinion. I afterwards gave Lameen a present, consisting of one pound of tea, five pounds of coffee, and four heads of loaf sugar. This was the first considerable present I made. In the evening we observed Mercury in conjunction with Venus. The heavens were unusually bright for Mourzuk. We saw also Jupiter's satellites at seven in the evening. The two upper ones were much nearer than the two lower ones to the great planet, but all in a line. Mars was very bright. The rings, or extinct volcanoes of the moon, were also truly transparent this evening. Usually the sky of Mourzuk is charged with a dirty red haze, and not at all favourable to astronomical observations.

21*st*.—The culture of water-melons is progressing for the summer season. The melons are planted in the irrigation ducts that lead to the squares of clover, which is cultivated at this season for the horses of the cavalry stationed here, and also for the camels of the merchants. Every fifteen or twenty days a fresh crop is ready, all produced by irrigation.

The fig-tree is found frequently in the gardens of Fezzan, and when planted near a well, produces as fine fruit as those on the coast. The rich green

of its leaves is very refreshing to the eye. During the present season, however, the greater portion of the gardens is devoted to onion-raising. Whole fields are covered with this vegetable. Parsley is running to seed. The korna is also seen in the suburbs. Few birds visit the gardens of Fezzan, which are all planted with palms. One or two groves have been recently added, and are distinguished as the "new trees." The irrigated beds are covered with palm-shoots, the curving fan-like leaves bending prettily over the ground.

The winnowing of grain is conducted in the most slovenly manner. The ripe ears with the dry stalks are thrown on the sand, and then half-a-dozen donkeys are driven over them—an animated threshing machine. The grain, of course, mixes with the sand, and is separated from it with considerable loss and waste of time.

The sandy soil of the gardens is sometimes mixed with a large quantity of salt, which gives it a firm consistence. Of this soil the houses of the city are built. Rain would melt them; but this blessing never cools the scorching atmosphere of Mourzuk.*

In this day's agricultural and horticultural walk I fell in with the nymphs of the gardens; or, in other words, the washerwomen of Mourzuk. They

* Showers of rain are subsequently mentioned, however; and it is a mistake to suppose that the hard blocks of fossil-salt mixed with earth, of which the houses in the oases of Northern Africa are often built, can be so easily melted down.—Ed.

come out constantly to the wells, when the irrigation is going on, early in the morning or late in the evening, and thus take advantage of the supply of water raised. They are all dark women of the city, for the most part unlovely and very dirty in appearance, despite their occupation. Their system of washing is the primitive one practised by the labouring classes all over the north of Africa. They roll up the clothes into a round flat heap, and then with their heels keep up a continual round of treading, using for soap a peculiar sort of clay. Some of the girls are very impudent and immodest when a stranger passes by; but as a rule they are not so. The wells at Mourzuk are not all good; some are fresh, others salt. In many places will be found a well of very sweet, delicious water; and running nearly to the surface, at twenty paces distant from it, are found others really quite salt. The same phenomenon has been observed at Siwah, in the Libyan desert.

One of our party received a present this morning of some fresh and most delicious leghma. A good deal is drunk in Mourzuk, in an acrid state, for the purposes of intoxication.

In the evening I went to see the acting Pasha, with the Consul. He received us with his usual urbanity, and gave coffee and lemonade twice. He mentioned the things which a functionary of government was permitted to receive as presents,—viz., two sheep, twelve pounds and a half of butter, fifty eggs, and two fowls. This to be received once only from

a friend. But some of the functionaries say they can receive a cantar of butter, if divided into sufficiently small quantities, and spread over several days.

People all admire the clock I purchased for the Sultan of Sakkatou, to give him instead of the chronometer. When it strikes the hours, I tell them it speaks various languages, at which they are greatly astonished.

Yesterday evening, a shower of bats made their appearance at dusk.

22*d*.—I went with Dr. Overweg to visit the Pilgrims. We had previously examined the head of one of them phrenologically. The news had been spread in the tents, and the whole troop came to have their craniums studied on our arrival amongst them. This science—if such it can be called—tickles the fancies of people hereabouts, being suited to their capacity. One fellow wished to know from his head whether he should gain much money this year. They looked upon the matter as a species of fortune-telling.

23*d*.—The Pilgrims' heads must have itched all night. Here they are again to have them handled! All the polls in Mourzuk will probably pass under our hands if this goes on. It is singular that the pilgrimage to Mekka has not nourished sufficient fanaticism to prevent these good people from allowing an infidel doctor to make free with their crowns, and expatiate on their passions and propensities.

There is no calculating on the strength of the impulse of curiosity.

24*th.*—The Queen's birthday. At eight o'clock Mr. Gagliuffi fired a musket, and hoisted the British jack and pennant over the Consulate. At noon, fifty-one discharges of muskets and matchlocks announced the auspicious event to the natives of this city, and to the Tibboos, Tuaricks, Soudanese, Bornouese, and all other strangers of the Sahara and Central Africa. In the evening, the Consul gave a dinner to us travellers and to the Pasha and his officers. The healths of her Majesty, the Sultan, and the King of Prussia, were drunk in champagne with enthusiasm. There were thirty or forty dishes on the table, and among them a turkey, the first ever killed in this city. Mr. Gagliuffi had recently brought a cock and hen from Tripoli. A small saloon was decorated with banners and cotton-stuffs of Soudan, with various devices. Amongst these were a small portrait of her Majesty; an Ottoman blood-red flag, with its crescent and star; and a white flag with the Prussian black eagle. The effect was excellent, and quite astonished the natives. The Turks ate and drank famously, and for the most part got "elevated." When in this state it was curious to see them clawing at the viands, utterly forgetful of Eastern gravity and decorum. I must observe, however, that Mustapha Bey himself and one other officer declined to drink wine. The Turks seem very tolerant to one another in this respect. It is left as

a matter for the decision of every man's individual conscience. These sensible people do not think that, because a man is inclined to be an ascetic himself, he is bound to force all other people to be so likewise.

25*th*.—I took a walk in the gardens this evening, and came upon two or three small circular orchards, having within the circle simply room for holding water, like a shallow pond, with fruit-trees, vines, fig-trees, and pomegranates clustering around. These orchards, when thus formed close by the well-side, are very luxuriant. People now begin to sow ghaseb, ghafouly, dra, and such grains, which are reaped in the summer season. Barley and wheat are sown in autumn or winter, and reaped in spring. As I walked I noticed that the sky was darkly overcast, as if threatening rain; and presently, sure enough, a few precious drops fell on the thirsty sandy soil!

I observed a new plant, large, with broad and smooth thick velvety leaves, but omitted to write down the name. It produces a milky juice, with which the people dye the palms of their hands, instead of with henna. The plant has a disagreeable odour, and every appearance of being poisonous; but they say it is not so, being only bitter in taste.

26*th*.—In my morning's walk I had the coolest weather experienced since our arrival at Mourzuk. The wind was from the north-east and the sky much overcast. It actually rained,—a slight shower of ten minutes' duration. How gratefully the trees

seemed to spread their leaves to catch the pleasing drops! The gardens and groves all wore a happy smile. We hear, that lately a great deal of rain has fallen in the Ghât district, and on the route to Aheer.

The people are preparing to thresh their corn, and I was interested in observing all the details of their process. They had scattered yesterday evening the full ripe grain in its dry stalks over the ground, in the form of a large circle, to the depth of about two inches; and had then smoothed the sand all around in small ridges, so that if a thief came during the night they might observe his footmarks. They thresh out the grain by means of four or five asses or camels tied abreast, and driven round and round over this primitive floor. Great waste is occasioned by allowing the grain to mix with and sink in the sand; the task of winnowing is most difficult afterwards.

27*th.*—This day I had some conversation with Boro, the Sheikh of Aghadez, about the country and localities of Aheer,—a Saharan kingdom never yet explored, and which we intend to traverse on our circuitous route across the desert. It appears that Aheer is the general name of the whole cluster of towns and districts; that Aghadez is the medineh, or city; and that Asouty is a town on the line of the caravan route to Soudan,—a regular halting-place. Asben and Asbenouah are other names given to this same territory, and do not denote

other countries. The Tibboos and Bornouese describe the whole territory of Fezzan as Zoilah, a name derived from that of the ancient capital, Zoueelah. These double names have hitherto caused great confusion in laying down unvisited places in the desert. If we can penetrate and explore the kingdom of Aheer or Asben, it will be doing a great service to geography.

28*th*.—I am studying rural life in the neighbourhood of Mourzuk, as if it were to be my occupation. Scarcely a day passes that I do not escape from the crowded town and wander, either morning or evening, into the gardens, the groves, and the fields. The water raised by rude machinery from the wells is always dancing along in little runnels. The chattering of women crosses my path right and left. Groups of labourers or gardeners occur frequently. A man this day valued a date-palm at a mahboub, and I am told that the greater number are not worth more than a shilling of English money. To avert the evil eye from the gardens, the people put up the head of an ass, or some portion of the bones of that animal. The same superstition prevails in all the oases that stud the north of Africa, from Egypt to the Atlantic, but the people are unwilling to explain what especial virtue there exists in an ass's skull. We go sometimes to shoot doves in the gardens; but these birds are very shy, and after the first shot fly from tree to tree and keep out of range. So we stroll about making observations, to

console ourselves for the loss of sport. We noticed several cotton-bushes, but this useful plant is not cultivated here except that it may ornament the gardens with its green. I have just eaten of the heart of the date-tree. It is of a very delicious bitter, and is a choice dish at feasts.

I met with a number of the suburban inhabitants engaged in celebrating a wedding. First came a group of women, dancing and throwing themselves into a variety of slow, languid, and lascivious postures, to the sound of some very primitive string-instrument. Towards this group all the women of the neighbouring huts were gathering, some merely as spectators, others bringing dishes of meat. Beyond was a crowd of men, among whom was the bridegroom helping the musicians to make a noise. These musicians were an old man and old woman, each above ninety years of age. The latter beat a calabash with a stick, whilst the former drew a bow over a single string tied to another calabash. The bridegroom had got hold of a brass kettle, with which he supplied his contribution to the din. Preparations for supper were going on; and, the harmony announcing this fact, idlers were coming in flocks from the distant hamlets and the fields. Two new huts had been built, one for the bride and the other for the bridegroom.

These marriages produce very few children, which may partly arise from licentiousness, but chiefly, no doubt, from misery. I afterwards saw

the burial of an old lady, which ceremony set the whole town in motion. The women screamed in crowds, and a great number of men went outside the walls to see the body consigned to its last resting-place. Yusuf pretends that the burial took place two hours after decease, which is the ordinary practice here, although thirty-two hours are said to be the proper time.

To the 21st of May I was occupied in preparing a short report on Fezzan, with statements of the expedition and other necessary documents.

We have had a grand dinner at the house of the Greek doctor Paniotti. The Bey, Bim Bashaw, his adjutant, the treasurer, and others were invited. The French have boasted of the number of their dishes, but I think the Turks beat them hollow in this particular. Besides two whole lambs, fowls, pigeons, there were at least twenty made dishes, with every variety of rich sweetmeat. Amongst the early fruits of the season we had figs and apples. The dinner was not quite so merry as Gagliuffi's, the champagne being absent.

We had a smart rain-shower in the morning, and in the evening also there was a tempest of wind and lightning, and a little rain. The flashes were very vivid, and lighted up the whole firmament.

The Tibboos persist in saying that there is plenty of water in their country, abundance of rain, frequent springs; and some go so far as to describe

their streams as running a distance of from one to eight days' journey. They acknowledge, however, that the soil of their country is not very favourable to much cultivation of grain and fruit. Perhaps they want to attract visitors, but are not likely to succeed at present. Justly or unjustly, they bear a very bad character; and in Mourzuk, to call a man a Tibboo is rather worse than to call a man a Jew in Europe.

*June* 1*st*, Post-day.—Letters, private and public, were forwarded. It is now determined that we shall start for Ghât next Wednesday; at any rate the Germans talk of doing so, whilst I am inclined to wait for Hateetah and his escort. It would be imprudent to run the risk of a disaster at this early stage of our proceedings, and my greater responsibility renders me more cautious, and perhaps more timid, than my enthusiastic companions. I am engaged in finishing my last despatches and reports, collecting Arabic descriptions of Fezzan, one of which is by the Bash Kateb, and corresponding on the future expenditure of the Mission. The weather has become very hot with the advancing season, but I am now pretty well used to the heat. The thermometer has risen to 103°; in Bornou it rarely exceeds 105°: I may hope, therefore, to brave the sun's rays under or near the line.

Few incidents worth recording mark the latter days of our stay at Mourzuk. I paid a visit to Abd-el-Kader, the Sheikh of the Pilgrims. This holy

person is quite humanized, and talks freely of the politics of the Barbary coast. He entertained myself, the German, the Greek doctor, and Gagliuffi with tea; and this at *sunset*, when all the other pilgrims were at their prayers. He is a Tuatee of Gharai, and has been many times to Mekka in his present capacity. Indeed he makes the journey about once every three years. The pilgrim caravans travel very fast; no others can keep up with them. On leaving any place where they have halted, the Sheikh has the privilege of demanding the release of two or three prisoners; and the scandalous whisper that any Barabbas can sometimes obtain his liberty by a judicious investment of presents. When encamped near a town, moreover, the tent of the Sheikh becomes an inviolable asylum for every criminal who chooses to take refuge there. Many other privileges equally valuable are enjoyed by this functionary. Abd-el-Kader himself is an extremely urbane gentleman, and we retired quite satisfied with our reception. He gave me a vocabulary of the Tuatee dialect, and some account of the statistics of the place, which I forwarded to the Foreign Office. It appears that formerly the people of Tuat paid to the Algerines five hundred camel-loads of dates and ten *necks* of gold, *i. e.* the gold ornaments sometimes worn round the camels' necks. When the French made their conquest, they sent to the Tuatees to renew their tribute to them, as the actual masters

of Algeria. The answer returned was, "Come and take the tribute!"

11*th*.—The gardens continue to attract my evening strolls. Every one is now busy sowing ghaseb, and I passed a half hour in working with some cheerful labourers at the preparation of the ground, smoothing the soil in the squares for irrigation. They were amused at my voluntary industry. I sleep now late of mornings after my evening exercise in the gardens, and find myself the better for it.

Perhaps the first melons ever eaten at Mourzuk appeared on Mr. Gagliuffi's table about this time; they were very good.

12*th*.—The Germans were preparing to start early in the morning; they are obliged to lighten everything, and reduce each camel load to two and a-half, or even two cantars. The Tuaricks will not carry more; generally their maharees are small, and they have few stray camels. The Germans went off in good style and great spirits. They propose to accompany a caravan of Tanelkum Tuaricks, who go by way of Aroukeen, leaving Ghât far on the right. I was not able to persuade them to delay their departure, so that we might all travel together: but it may be expected that they will not find it so very easy or safe to get through this country without the special protection of those who claim authority over it.

Two or three days of gheblee succeeded—unplea-

sant weather to be out in the desert. I found it bad enough at Mourzuk — 100° in the shade at four o'clock in the afternoon. Hateetah was reported to be on the road; so I determined to wait five or six days for him, and thus not deviate from my original plan.

I went to visit the wife of Mohammed Es-Sfaxee, who goes with us to Soudan as a merchant, carrying a considerable quantity of goods on account of M. Gagliuffi: this gentleman accompanied me. The object of our visit was to see whether the Sfaxee had left a sufficient quantity of provisions with his wife to support her during his absence. It is necessary to take such precautions with these Moors, who often barbarously abandon their families, without any adequate provision, for months and even for years together. We found that he had left dates, wheat, and a little olive-oil and mutton-fat—the ordinary stock of all families in Fezzan. Only a few rich people indulge in such luxuries as coffee, sugar, meat, and liquid butter.

An Arab saying: "You must always put other people's things on your head, and your own under your arm. Then, if there be danger of the things falling off your head, you must raise your arm, and let fall your own things to save those of others." I do not know what things I shall let fall of my own; but this I know, that during my whole residence in Mourzuk my mind has been continually occupied in

endeavouring to save Government money. But I have received little assistance.

The weather still continues hot, with wind from the south: however, I walked in the gardens. On the 16th, the boat went off to the caravan; the camels carried it very easily, to the astonishment of the good people of Mourzuk. On the 17th, the thermometer was at 102° in the shade—in the sun, about 130°. We received letters in answer to those first written from Mourzuk, and learned that all the despatches written on the road for Tripoli had arrived in safety. The Arabs, therefore, are not quite so bad as they are represented.

20*th*.—At length Hateetah may be said to be reported "in sight," and we are busy preparing for departure. The escort has arrived at Tesaoua, and will be here on Saturday at latest. As the Germans are still at Tuggerter, we shall proceed on the Ghât route together, after all: it will be a tough piece of work, whichever way performed. The heat continues intense—from 100° to 104°, and 130° in the sun. Cooler weather is expected in August; but at present all the natives complain, and fevers are becoming prevalent. In the desert we shall escape that danger; for disease comes only in the moist depression of the plateau on which Mourzuk stands. We hear talk, by the way, of a fine new route—only forty days—just opened, from Ghât to Timbuctoo, across the deserts of Haghar. The pre-

sent Sultan of the Haghar Tuaricks is called Ghamama.

One of our party, who undertook to accompany us to take the management of the boat, has not proved equal to the occasion; and I have therefore written to Tripoli, to request that two Moorish sailors, of Jerbah if possible, should be sent up by the direct route to Bornou. I had almost engaged a very excellent person at Tripoli, the captain of the vessel in which I arrived; but when he called at the Consulate on the subject, some minor official ordered him off with a contemptuous "Barra! barra!" and he accordingly yielded to the solicitations of his crew and embarked without seeing me. There is too much of this self-sufficiency and off-handedness in all Consulates in the Levant, where a grain of authority is apt at once to magnify a man, in his own estimation, into a mighty potentate. I regret my Jerbine captain very much; he originally volunteered to accompany us, and entered into my plans with an enthusiasm and intelligence rare among Muslims.

These small details of our expedition are interesting to me to record, though probably many will think them superfluous. Perhaps they will serve to give a true idea of the magnitude of the undertaking, and of the great responsibility which weighed upon me, and thus prove an anticipatory excuse for any accusation of shortcoming or dilatoriness that may be preferred against me. I will not, however, enter further into the business-details of the expedi-

tion—merely observing that, among other things to which I had to attend during my stay in Mourzuk, were, in the first place, to collect provisions and stores for a journey that may last two years; secondly, to purchase presents for the princes and other distinguished persons of the interior; and thirdly, to provide against the casualties of the journey, payment of salaries, &c. All these things I had to do on my own responsibility. Among other things, I have purchased from Mr. Gagliuffi an Arab gun and pair of pistols, inlaid with silver and curiously wrought, for the sum of 180 mahboubs. This is for a present to the Sheikh of Bornou, who will expect something pleasing to the eye as well as the boat, which he may at first, perhaps, not appreciate at its full value.

I have already made a good many casual allusions to our plans and arrangements; but it will be necessary here, before our departure from the last city that acknowledges the Ottoman authority, to make a brief statement of our position and prospects. Things that already appear clear to me may not be so to others. During my former visit to Ghât, when I travelled as a private individual, known as "Yakōb," I made acquaintance with Hateetah, a Tuarick Sheikh, who had assumed the title of Consul of the English. It is the custom in that country for every stranger on his arrival to put himself under the protection of one of the head men, to whom alone he makes presents, and who answers

for his safety. Mr. Gagliuffi had written to him to come with an escort to protect our party as far as Ghât. It appears, however, that very grand accounts had circulated in the Sahara on the magnitude and importance of our mission; so that it was impossible for one Sheikh to monopolise us. Hateetah, therefore, had come, accompanied by two sons of Shafou, the nominal Sultan of all the Tuaricks of Ghât. Wataitee, the elder of the two, is very plausible, and undertakes to accompany us as far as Aheer. It is to be observed, that the Tuaricks of this place have hitherto never ventured to come to Mourzuk; and it is considered wonderful that they have come for the first time at the summons of infidels.

My first plan was, to proceed by the direct route to Aroukeen with the Germans and the Tanelkums, and from this place make an indispensable expedition to Ghât. But circumstances compel me to march direct to that place by the common road. Our escort is to cost us dear, but it will ensure our safety. These Ghât Tuaricks, however great they may talk in their own country, are really very poor; they subsist almost entirely on the custom-dues levied on caravans. Wataitee himself said, "I am the son of the Sultan, it is true; but I have nothing. If I stay in my country, I do not feel my necessities much; but if I must escort you to Aheer, then I must be well-clothed and fed, or else the people will say, 'Behold the son of Shafou, how poor and

miserable he is!'" Besides paying about two hundred Spanish dollars for the escort, I have had to feed all the people, and furnish them with tents. They had led me to expect much more reasonable treatment; but there is no help, and I feel that I am not yet at the end of my troubles of this description. With these prefatory remarks, I enter upon an account of my departure from Mourzuk for the oasis of Ghât.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Wars in the Interior—Anticipated Disputes—Mr. Boro of Aghadez—Our Treatment at Mourzuk—Mustapha Bey—Start for Ghât—Row with the Escort—Fine Weather—Leave Tesaoua—Sharaba—Travelling in the Heat—Hateetah and the Germans—The Camels—Snakes—Journey continued—Nature of the Country—Complete Desert—Rain—Overtake the Caravan—Interview with Boro—Pool of Ailonah—The Tanelkums—Halt—Birds—Bir Englecz—Wind in the Desert—Begging Escort—Brilliant Heavens—News from Ghât—The Pilgrims again—Bas-relief of Talazaghe—Moved over the Desert—Mountains—Extraordinary Pass—Central Table-land of Fezzan.

HATEETAH has brought stirring intelligence: the Sultan of Bornou is at war with his brother. Ten thousand Tuaricks of Aheer have gone against the Walad Suleiman; and, taking advantage of the opportunity, the Tuaricks of Timbuctoo are marching from the other direction to fall upon their brethren of Aheer. Quarrels of kites and crows!—Yes, to those at a distance; but it is too much to hope that our caravan will prove a lark's nest in some Saharan battle-field. We must pray that a general peace shall be proclaimed in Central Africa during our march across the desert.

However, we must not be frightened by rumours, and, indeed, are not. We pass from discussion of this warlike intelligence to bargain with Hateetah, who, as I have hinted, seems inclined to play the Jew, or rather—to speak in character—the Tibboo with us. It will cost a large sum to pass through Ghât, and obtain an escort to Aheer. As a consolation, we learn that we are to be persecuted by Boro Sakontaroua, sheikh of Aghadez, who is displeased that he has received no presents from us. It would appear that the letters of Hassan Pasha rather compromised us to employ him as our escort; but I am not responsible for this, having never deviated from the original plan of procuring an escort from Ghât. Indeed, I wrote to that effect immediately on my arrival in Tripoli; and it would not do, after keeping my friends in the oasis in a turmoil all this while, to disappoint them. The desert has its etiquette as well as the drawing-room, and infringements might be rather more dangerous here.

The new acting Pasha has made the Tuaricks a present of some burnouses. This, whilst lessening perhaps the comparative value of what we have given, at any rate lays the chief under some obligations to the Turks, and assists in making up a good round sum in payment for the trouble of coming all the way from Ghât to Mourzuk to escort us.

By the way, Mr. Boro of Aghadez has been fetched back from his encampment at Tesaoua by

a man on horseback. The business was of some consequence, according to the notions of these people. He had sold a female slave, and the poor woman was now found to be *enceinte* by Boro's son, with whom she had been living as concubine. The law soon despatched the affair, and compelled the Sheikh to restore the purchase-money and take back his slave.

A last observation on Mourzuk, before leaving it behind in this Saharan navigation. All the Ottoman authorities have treated us with attention and respect. Mr. Gagliuffi has been hospitable, and the people generally have proved courteous in their behaviour. It is rare to remain so long in a place and have so few causes of complaint. Justice, however, compels me to say, that the British Consul sometimes remembered too vividly that he was also a merchant, and a Levantine merchant to boot. I am afraid he is not quite satisfied even with the profits he has already made out of the expedition. Is it possible, however, for Easterns, or people who live in the East, to look upon a Government as anything but a milch cow? Mustapha Bey, who took a very affectionate leave of me, is now engaged in examining a tremendous case of peculation — something like a defalcation of two thousand mahboubs. He is quite bewildered for the time. The Greek doctor came to see us off; but we started in a little confusion, for Mr. Yusuf Moknee was drunk, as he was nearly all the time of our stay at Mourzuk.

I left Mourzuk on the 25th of June, late in the evening, and proceeding until midnight, stopped at a little cluster of palms, with two or three inhabitants, called Thurgan. Then rising at daylight, and starting at once, I passed Om-el-Hamam, and reached Tesaoua about nine in the evening. I found that the Germans and the Tanelkums had gone on in advance some days, but not so fast that we could not hope to overtake them. The hurry and bustle attendant on the preparations for starting has rendered me rather indisposed; I was quite unwell on the 27th. Next day, however, I could receive Hateetah and the son of Shafou, and have a civil row with them. I had to ask them whether they would travel by night, and what they would agree to do if any one fell sick. To the first question they promptly answered "No, they would not;" but to the second, that in case any one was very ill indeed, they would wait a little for him, or travel in the night. I said that this was not exactly what I wanted, and that in case of sickness the expedition must be stopped. They recommended me to go to Ghât, and there remain twenty days until the great heat had passed, allowing the Tanelkums to go on. This advice is worth reflection: but perhaps we may not suffer so much from the heat as I anticipate. We came to a tolerable understanding, and it was at length agreed that we should start on the 29th.

The weather is now cool, the wind often blowing *round* in the course of the day; it rarely blows

*through*, as at sea. On the way from Mourzuk we had hot and cold blasts together; but now we are out in the desert, we find the climate much more temperate than in the city. I hope and pray that I shall be able to bear up against the heat.

What a magnificent sky we had last night! —never did I behold the stars in greater glory. The Scorpion was brilliant, if not fierce; and the constellation on his right shone splendidly. At about eight o'clock Jupiter was setting towards the horizon like a sun!

29*th*.—We left Tesaoua at length, at three in the afternoon. The boat and our servants had gone on before with the Tuaricks, who prefer not travelling in the dark, if possible. We can often start after them in this way, and catch them up by pushing on some hours after sunset. Our course lay south this evening. The heavens, before the rising of the moon, had a most luminous appearance; Jupiter was seen only about an hour above the horizon, and the Milky Way was very conspicuous, but at eight o'clock described only a small segment in the heavens.

We reached Sharaba at eight, and halted. This is a sandy valley, with herbage for the camels; the water, not very good, is a few feet from the surface, and issues from some rocks. There are no date-palms about the well, as reported, but a few stunted ones are found a mile or two higher up. The surface of the desert is broken into small mounds, crowned with the ethel-tree.

Sunday, the 30th, was a cool day for the desert, yet sufficiently hot for me. We left Sharaba at a quarter past six in the morning, and made a good day of nine hours. These confounded Tuaricks will travel in the heat, and encamp in the cool. At three in the afternoon, just as the weather was becoming quite fresh and pleasant, we halted. The wind, occasionally strong, blew from the north-east, whilst our course lay south-west, across a broad valley. The sandy ground is covered with the tholukh-tree, which affords a grateful shade in the season. This valley is very broad here, only one side being visible at once to the eye.

The Tuaricks are growing civil enough, and companionable. Luckily Hateetah and the son of Shafou do not drink coffee or tea—a saving. Hateetah, however, is always begging; he says he will go to Aheer, and appears to consider his escort indispensable. According to him, the Germans, who are pushing on ahead, run great danger. Yusuf tells me that he is, in reality, extremely angry with my companions for proceeding alone. He wishes, perhaps, to get a present from them too; and swears that he knows nobody but Yakōb (my desert name). They are not English, he says, but French. Besides, they have got twenty camel-loads of goods, which he will seize if they do not pay him something. Of course this is all harmless bluster, and means nothing. He confesses that, being on Fezzanee ground, he has really no claim upon caravans at all; but he is a

greedy old rascal, and would take any advantage he could. The same gentleman says that Sakonteroua is only a chicken in his own country—quite powerless: if this be the case, his enmity is not of so much consequence as I feared.

The camels of the Tuaricks usually go well, and make good hours, because they are not allowed to eat on the road. They all march in strings, one being tied behind the other; each string is led on by servants or slaves. Thus, when once loaded, there is little difficulty on the way. When seen at a distance, they resemble a moving mass of troops, especially when the mirage multiplies their long files. *Our* camels, however, being all Arab camels, cannot be made to go in strings, and are always staring about for something whereon to browse.

I begin to feel better in health. If we could but encamp for three or four hours during the heat of the day, I have no doubt I should get on well enough. There was talk of serpents to-day; I saw none on this route, however. People at Mourzuk are occasionally bitten by lêfas and scorpions, and death ensues often. Ammonia has been tried with success as a cure.

*July* 1*st*.—We were astir at the encampment a little after daybreak; but it takes usually two hours to get off, although we have but seven camels. I hope our people will be quicker after a little more practice. The heat was very troublesome; and nothing could keep the Tuaricks from going on all

through the day, for ten hours and a quarter, without stopping. Our course was along the broad wady, which resembles an immense plain. On the surface of its sandy bed are scattered pebbles and blocks of sandstone and limestone, but the former chiefly. There was nothing to please the eye but the delicate tints of the line of sand-hills on the left—a faint yellow, at times mingling with the sky when very luminous; and the round tholukh-trees, scattered like black spots on the light sand of the valley. A little mirage figured a dark, black lake, which, however, sparkled with light under the trees. Few animals were seen: a young camel, left to graze in the valley, followed us most cheerfully this morning.

We passed two or three wells in the course of the day, at a place called Kouwana, with water near the surface, and obtained some by scraping out the sand; we did not, however, take any up, because it was not very good. Caravans seldom use these wells. No doubt there is water to be found everywhere throughout the wady, which by a little care might be turned into an oasis. Perhaps it was one in old times. There is now no encouragement to cultivate any stubborn ground.

*July* 2.—Two hours in getting off again! We started at six and went on until past five in the afternoon, following a south-west course along the same wady, with the same low line of sand-hills on our left, and sand and the low edge of the plateau, which the people say extends many days' journey, on our left.

This valley is so shallow that it might almost be considered as part of the plateau, and is, in fact, nearly on a level with it; the temperature tells us we are on very high land. It is cool for this season, and the Tuaricks even complain of chilliness at night. Sometimes I am disposed to think the hot weather is passed, but we must take into account the strong breeze blowing from the north-east.

The broad bed of the valley is covered with pebbles of sandstone, between which glanced a few, very few, lizards. Rarely did any living thing cheer our eyes as we moved along this dismal track. Now and then gazelles, in threes and fours, went scouring away far out of reach. One or two small birds fluttered from stone to stone; and some crows cawed at us from a distance. This is true Fezzan scenery. The mirage and all its illusions cloaked the plain in various directions, as if seeking to hide its dull uniformity.

However, this desolate region has really been of late visited by rain, as we had been told. We encamped towards evening near a great standing pool, which, if the weather remain moderate, will supply the caravans for months to come. A shower is a vulgar occurrence in Europe, received by most men, except agriculturists, as an annoyance. In the desert it has all the value of a heaven-sent gift. It is shed not periodically; but at intervals of time and place suddenly descends in copious drenchings. We often came upon spots which had been

ploughed up as by a torrent from the skies; and few rocks in the Sahara are without water-marks. The rain-water at our camping-ground has an excellent flavour, and I drank of it eagerly.

Round this pool we at length found the caravan waiting for us to come up. The Germans and all others were well, except the Sfaxee, troubled with a little fever. Mourzuk is a bad place to break down the health and spirits, and those that became faint-hearted there would probably have persevered had they got out into the bracing air of the desert. The Tuaricks are very quiet. I sent word to Hateetah that it was impossible for him to take presents from the Germans, as it was contrary to the orders of Government. Shafou's son is very mild and circumspect.

Here also was Mohammed Boro, and although I had written strongly to Tripoli about him, I considered it advisable after all, immediately on arriving, to try and make friends with him. So I paid him a visit, and told him that when the Tuaricks had conducted us to Aheer we should, of course, place ourselves under his protection, that we might proceed to Sakkatou. I sent him, also, some hamsah and dates. This gladdened him much, for he is very short of provisions, and has many servants with him; amongst the rest, two or three female slaves, one of whom, a fat, buxom girl, must require prodigious nourishment.

When the pool of Ailouah is not filled by rain-

water, recourse is had to a well near at hand, which supplies sufficient quantities. How important are wells in the desert, and how one learns to mark their existence!

The valley which we have been traversing three days from Sharaba to Ailouah is called Barjouj, and is remarkable for the tholukh-trees, which are scattered here and there throughout its whole extent. We are now seven days from Ghât, and about the same distance from Aroukeen; but the Tanelkums, who go slowly, make thirteen days between this and Aroukeen. They go direct, as we intended to do, without touching at Ghât. Our movements are not exactly free, but we must now seem to notice this circumstance; and if they insist on our taking the route by the capital, in order to have an opportunity of increased plunder, must give in with as good grace as possible.

The 2d and 3d of July we stopped at Ailouah. Hateetah came to my tent the first day with a long face, and said, as I foresaw, that we must all go to Ghât, and abide the pleasure of the Tuaricks; also that we must wait for the return of a caravan from Aheer. I protested against this latter pretence, and he got up and went off in a pet. Next morning I sent word to his tent that I could not stay at Ghât an indefinite period; that my means would not allow me; and, therefore, that we must still protest against this arrangement. He answered, that he would assemble all the notables of Ghât

and ask their counsel. To this I could have no objection, and we are friends again. But I keep as far from the Tuaricks as I can, and do not visit them. I find this to be the best policy. We feed them every night, and they are apparently contented. The weather continues cool, the wind being always partly from the north.

Many birds, crows and others, pretty large, were seen about the wells of Ailouah; and a rival sportsman to Dr. Overweg appeared in the person of Mohammed et-Tunisee. He shot three small fowls of Carthage, one of which he gave me, I promising him a little powder in return when we came to Ghât. We noticed a small black bird with a white throat. But all through this desert we listen in vain for some songster. There is no reason for merriment in these dismal solitudes.

Our people have dug a well, which the Tanelkums promise to call "Bir Engleez,"—the English Well. Good water was found easily near the surface at this station.

*4th.*—We started late, and made only a short day; but herbage for the camels is only found hereabouts. Our course was, as usual, south-west over an undulating plateau, with an horizon now near, now distant. The surface of the ground was for the most part blackened sandstone pebbles, and some blocks of very bad stone. The weather continues fresh and pleasant. We did not feel the heat until some time after noon; and as we halted early at

Ghamoud, suffered nothing. The wind—which we notice as if on ship-board—now comes always from the east, generally with a point north. It seems to be a sort of trade-wind throughout this portion of the desert. I begin now to read on the camel's back, and find this a pleasing relief from the jog-trot monotony of the movement. I am anxious to read the whole of the Bible in Hebrew on the camel's back. Our friends the lizards were still glancing along the ground in the bright sunshine, but in diminished numbers.

Hateetah is always begging, and now asks for burnouses for the Ghât Sheikhs, Khanouhen, Jabour, Berka, and his brother. He still pretends that the Germans must give him a present, and that he knows no one but the English. In compliment, and to soothe him, I said, "You must dress in all your fine clothes at Ghât." This awakened his vanity, and he seemed delighted with the idea. His reply was, "You also must one day dress in all your best clothes—one day—only one day." I replied, "I have no fine clothes;" at which he seemed puzzled. Turning the conversation, he said I must change all his Tunisian piastres into dollars; which I shall certainly not do. This Consul of the English is a tremendously grasping fellow.

The Tanelkums all give the son of Shafou a good character. We parted with them this morning. They take some loads of dates for us, and

have gone to Aroukeen, where they will wait for us six days, and then leave us; that is, if we do not come up. They will be twelve days, they say, on their journey. We go by a different route to Ghât, and shall see but not enter Serdalous. This place is now thickly inhabited by Tuaricks, and Hateetah does not wish to come in contact with them, for fear of exciting their curiosity and cupidity. So he is a knowing old dog after all. Our Tuaricks are displeased that the Germans have encamped so far from us this evening. The ground is a narrow slip of wady stretching east and west, almost on a level with the plateau. There is a little hasheesh (grass), with two or three young tholukh-trees. Venus shone with uncommon splendour this evening, eclipsing all the majesty of Jupiter. We are looking out for the Southern Cross, and think we see it just emerging above the horizon ahead. In the day, the heavens have of late been hazy.

They tell us, that on leaving Ghât we shall *descend* to Soudan; yet we cannot have reached very high ground. We may soon likewise expect to feel the influence of the Soudan rains, and find the atmosphere much cooler in consequence. How the days are shortening now, and how grateful darkness gradually expands its dominions over this arid, scorching waste, as we move south!

On Friday the 5th we only advanced two hours, to a place called Talazaghee,—a small picturesque

wady, where, during the season of rain, there are always two or three pools of good water; there is also now a little herbage for the camels. During our ride we met a small slave caravan, and learned the important intelligence that there are several people of the Sultan En-Noor of Aheer at present at Ghât with slaves. This will be useful to us. I wrote to my wife and others by this opportunity, and trust the missives will reach their destination. The weather is cool and pleasant to-day; and we are led to hope that the great heat of summer is already past. The wind followed exactly behind us as we pursued our south-west course. On arriving we found, rather to our surprise, the pilgrim caravan, and our old friend Abd-el-Kader. They have been some time reposing in Wady Gharby collecting provisions, and, I imagine, passing their leisure hours with the Fezzanee ladies, which they could not very well do in Mourzuk. The morality of these people is easy enough, and no doubt the pilgrimage covers a multitude of sins.

Talazaghee is remarkable for some bas-reliefs cut on the naked sandstone rocks of the wady, in a very peculiar style; the principal tableau, if I may so call it, about four feet by three in size, is a battle between two persons, one having a bird's head, and the other a bullock's, with a bullock between them taking part in the fray. Each person is holding a shield or bow. The sculptures are mere outline, but deeply graved and well

shaped. There are several other tableaux, representing animals, but chiefly bullocks. This would seem to intimate, that in the days when these forms of animals were chiselled bullocks were the animals employed for the transport of men and merchandise over the desert. No camels occur, as in other tablets. These sculptures are very properly said by our escort to be neither Arab nor Tuarick, but belong to the people that existed before these races. The principal tableau has a very Egyptian look about it; the oxen are well formed, and would do credit to a modern artist. There is one bas-relief figure of an ox with its neck in a circle, as if representing some of the games of the Circus. The other animals most distinctly seen are ostriches; the rocks around are, besides, covered with Tuarick characters, but nothing interesting.

We started late on the 6th, for the Tuaricks had allowed their camels to stray, and we waited some time for them: however, we were obliged, after all, to start without them, and having made five hours and a half halted. Our course had lain over the plateau, which about half way became broken up into valleys. One of these, called Anan Haghaneen, led us into the pleasant and picturesque wady of Mana Samatanee, where only in this part of the route can be found herbage for camels. There are also a few tholukh-trees. What a desolate region is all this, despite the little spots of vegetation! There are no signs of

animal life, except traces of the wadan. For two days, they tell us, we are to have little or no water. Now and then we pass desert mosques,—square, or circular, or cross-shaped walls of stone, some with two entrances, built for the devotion of chance passengers. The mountains on the east are called El Magheelaghen. To-day we carried my trunk with the money. Yusuf had previously given it in charge to a camel-driver, and the Tuaricks were always uneasy, asking to see if all were right. Europeans would probably have done the same under similar circumstances.

On the 7th we made a good day of about eleven hours, continuing during the first three in shallow wadys, down one of which we had a distant view of the plain of Serdalous, on the north-west. Then came the breaking up of the great plateau of Fezzan, and we entered a pass which leads down into the subjacent Sahara, and runs west with an inclination to the south. This is, perhaps, one of the most extraordinary natural features I have ever beheld. It seems to have been purposely cut out of the solid rock for the use of man, and reminds one at first of a railway excavation. As we advance it assumes the form of a cave, slightly open at top,—narrow, winding, and furnished with seats on either hand. A dim light comes from above. Only one part was difficult for the boat. Now and then the pass became quite a tunnel, but the concave roof is high enough for any camel to pass. On the

sides, here and there, were Tuarick inscriptions; but there was nothing remarkable revealed by this admirable geological section. It was mostly sandstone for the upper strata, with narrow streaks of marl and chalk. Some slate was observed, and frequently our way lay over beds of red clay. An agreeable surprise awaited us occasionally, in the shape of little openings containing groups of the tholukh; but the general aspect of the pass was horrible and desolate, and we eagerly pushed on towards the end. There was nothing, apparently, to support life; but we found and caught a young fox: how the little wretch procured food was a mystery which our guides could not explain. However, life no doubt had its joys for him, and we let him loose in the plain below. I also picked up a dead bird, of a species common in the desert, with white head or cap, and white tail, except the upper feathers; all the rest, legs and bill, black. It is about the size of a lark, but has a head like a blackbird. We supposed the one found had died from want of water, though it may have been killed by the mother of the young fox.

On emerging from the pass at length we found a considerable change of level, and having advanced a little way turned back and obtained a splendid view of the walls of the plateau, which stretched on both sides above the plain, and thrust out lofty bluff promontories, as into the sea. The upper lines of some of them were perfectly straight, as if levelled

by artificial means. We came to a solitary rock on the plain, containing excavations that seemed to be the work of men. Here, we were told, Dr. Oudney once stopped and breakfasted.

We have now a pretty correct idea of the great central table-land of Fezzan. It is an elevation, not quite clearly marked to the eye on some of its northern approaches, but dropping sheer to the plain at other parts. Mourzuk is situated in a sandy depression on its surface, which would probably be turned into a salt lake if there were sufficient rain. The limits of the hollow, as of that of many others—Wady Atbah for example—are not noticed by the traveller. Whether he approaches or leaves Mourzuk, he seems still to be traversing a level plain, and only finds his mistake by noticing the change in the nature of the ground, the presence of marshes, of green vegetation, and of a heavy, stifling atmosphere.

## CHAPTER IX.

Plain of Taeeta—Fezzan Boundary—Fosilss—Tuarick Behaviour—Valley of Tabea—Observations—Fasting—Tuarick Habits—Scorpions and Locusts—Visitors—Heat—Roads—Hot Wind—Pass of Abulaghlagh—the Palace of Demons—Wheat hid in the Desert—Land of Demons—Kasar Janoon—A dear Camel—Visit to the Kasar—Perilous Adventure of Dr. Barth.

On the 8th we pursued our course over the monotonous undulating plain of Taeeta, to which we had descended. It was a little hotter, because lower than yesterday; and the country is more parched, more arid, more desolate, than ever. No herbage for camels is found in these parts, and we had been compelled to carry some with us from Wady Haghaneen, and to make up with dates, of which the camels ate voraciously as a treat. Beetles and lizards were the only living things we saw.

Next day, the 9th, we rose before sunrise and made a good day of nine hours, still over the same

plain of Taeeta. About three hours before we reached the well of Tabea we crossed the real boundaries of the Fezzanee territory, although the Tuaricks seem to claim the pass on the mountains as their own. The weather was hot, there being no wind. On these occasions the afternoons are very oppressive, and the sun causes his power to be unpleasantly felt until an hour before sunset.

From the plain to-day we had a view of the Ghât mountains, which seem at a distance to present different forms and characters from the high lands on the edge of the plateau of Mourzuk. The bed of the undulating plain of Taeeta is covered with pebbles and blocks, of both sand and limestone. Yesterday I picked up some fossils of the star-fish—the fixed star-fish, having branches by which it holds to the bottom of the sea. Some fossils of vegetables were also found. Two or three hours before reaching the well we descended rapidly into a broad, deep wady, where were the recent marks of a water-flow. The camels all went well, ours faster than the Targhee; but these latter, not being allowed to stray, always make, as a rule, better and more regular journeys.

The Tuaricks themselves are getting more civil. Hateetah already enters into the idea of a treaty of amity and commerce: he says he will fix the amount the English merchants are to pay when they attend the mart of Ghât. The son of Shafou is always represented as a very good fellow; he is

growing more and more civil and companionable. This evening I gave him a small pair of good scissors, which much delighted him. As for the other Tuaricks, Hateetah excepted, I make it a rule to refuse what they ask, otherwise I should be annoyed every day with their importunities. Hateetah says we must lodge at Ghât with Haj Ahmed, the governor, outside of the town, to be out of the way of the begging Tuaricks. He adds, "Always keep the door shut, and when any one calls out for permission to enter, say 'Babo,'—(No one at home!)"

The Germans, like myself, find the fatigue too great to enable them to continue their observations and writings with regularity. We must not be extravagant of our health and strength at this early period of our expedition.

The valley of Tabea is a pleasant place, having herbage for the camels in abundance, as is the case wherever the ethel-tree is found. There are several wells with water near the surface, and others might no doubt be dug all over the wady. Our encampment looked picturesque this evening. It is the eve of Ramadhan, and our people fired shots here and there to celebrate the occasion.

10*th*.—A halt was arranged for this day. I took the opportunity to wash and change all my clothes, which I do every three or four days, if possible. Mr. Hateetah, however, would not allow me to carry on my domestic arrangements in peace. He

came grumbling as usual, wanting scissors, razors, &c. I cannot fill this craving abyss to the brim. Our people fast to-day; but to-morrow, probably, they will not, as the law does not require them to do so when actually travelling.

I have left Doctors Barth and Overweg to take the compass-direction of this route. To do this when with them would be useless for me, but when I leave them I must then do all the work I can. Now, it would be only accumulating on my shoulders useless labour. Besides, they will always do this kind of thing much better than myself. The same observation applies to the thermometer. It would be well, however, if I practised taking observations with them. But we are all sufficiently worked, and can assist one another but little in these matters.

The wind has been variable for the last three days,—in the evening, generally N.E. In the afternoon it begins to move round, until it blows from all the points of the compass. To-day we have hot wind or gusts of wind. It has been very hot, 105° Fahrenheit under the tent.

Our people suffer much from their fasting. But the Tuaricks do not fast, and seem to look with scorn upon the Moors and blacks for doing so. Yusuf says *he* shall not fast when he is *en route*. A camel has broken down on the road, and it is found necessary to kill it to prevent its dying. Hateetah has given out his decree for its sale. The Tuaricks are to purchase half and we half of the carcase, at ten

reals, or fifty Tunisian piastres. Of our five reals the Germans take one and a half, and the Sfaxee a half. This will make it lighter for me. Our people made a regular feast of the camel's flesh, some of them sitting up and gorging till midnight. Their noise did not disturb me, for I had slept a good deal in the day.

I had done very little indeed but sleep and lie down. We felt the heat severely at noon. A gust of hot wind nearly carried away our tent.

The Tuaricks use spoons, and do not eat with their hands like the Arabs and Turks; but the latter pretend that the Tuaricks never wash their hands at all, whilst they, before and after eating, always take this precaution. In saluting, the Tuaricks do not spread out the fingers much when they raise their hand, but present the palm and fingers outstretched to you. One of these gentlemen, whom I call the noisy one, has got a poor little slave-boy, about seven years of age, who works like a man, and goes quite naked.

To-day I found a young scorpion in the canvass-case of my writing-desk; he cocked his tail in a hostile attitude, as if daring any one to touch him. In his tail seems to be all his power, and so of all the scorpion host. Yesterday was taken a locust: this destructive insect is not bred in the desert. In this bare and thirsty region there is nothing for the young ones to eat, and the old ones likewise would soon perish in the Sahara. They are bred in the

cultivated fields near the desert, or in the fertile lands of the coast, as in the neighbourhood of Mogador, where millions of the young have been seen like so many small green buds of trees.

Dr. Overweg made an excursion to the Ghât mountains, or rather the smaller hills or offshoots from the range. He found them sandstone, but very singularly formed or broken into huge blocks — some like the masses which I saw on the route from Ghadamez to Ghât, with a very narrow base, on which they might turn as on a pivot.

11*th*.—We stopped here another day. We were to have started in the afternoon, but the Tuaricks had some visitors come to see them, and detained us for their own comfort and amusement. I am not sorry for it, as we have had a tremendous gheblee. All the day I felt it extremely hot, and so have all the people. I was obliged to lie down on the floor of my tent nearly all day ; but I have so arranged my table that I put my head under it, which gives additional and most important protection from the sun. All these little expedients must be resorted to in travelling over the desert, and may sometimes save a man's life. It is surprising what protection a piece of cloth or linen, or a piece of board, in addition to the tent, will give against the intensity of the sun's fierce rays. The Moors and blacks of the coast seem to suffer as much as the Europeans.

There are two ways from this wady to Ghât—a difficult, and an easy but longer one. I and the

Germans go, with Hateetah and Shafou, the difficult one; and we leave the heavy luggage and the caravan to go the easy route. This, at least, is the arrangement talked of this evening. The morrow may bring something new.

The Tuaricks who arrived to-day expected a supper: Hateetah sent to the Germans to find them one; the Germans referred them to Moknee; and we provided.

We must take care we do not have too many customers of this sort, or we shall never get up to Aheer with the present stock of provisions.

To call the wind under which we are suffering *gheblee*, is a perfect misnomer; for the hot wind of to-day and yesterday came directly from the *north*, "Bahree!" As Yusuf said, however, when I told him where the wind was from: "Where now is the sea? It is a long way from the sea."

The thermometer was 106° Fahrenheit in the shade of the ethel to-day. We shall rarely have it much hotter than this. In Bornou there is rarely more than 104° in the shade.

13*th*.—Saturday.* The morning is advancing and the Tuaricks are not yet moving. These Azgher are sad lazy dogs. It appears they have changed their minds, and we are all to go the long and easy way. The sun is rising in haze with a little wind.

* The 12th is missed, and Dr. Richardson notes in his journal that the date is to be rectified backwards; but he does not say where the rectification is to begin.—Ed.

The heavens now are frequently concealed by vapour. Yesterday we had clouds in abundance, often shrouding the sun—a wonder for the desert in this season!

We started rather late, about seven A.M., but made a long day, continuing till sunset, or twelve hours. Our course was north-north-west for three or four hours, on the plain towards Serdalous, and then entered the pass of Abulaghlagh; which, though represented as plain and smooth as the hand by Hateetah, was sufficiently difficult and rocky for the boat-laden camels. The beginning of the pass was remarkable for a number of curiously-formed sandstone rocks, several of them swinging or resting on a small base like a pivot, and others cleft asunder, as straightly and clearly as if cut by a knife. Our course along the pass was west, but when well through it we turned round southwards towards Ghât.

Immediately on clearing the pass we saw the celebrated Kasar Janoon, or Palace of the Demons; of and concerning which the people had been talking all day: we had then the range of hills or mountains to our left, and some sand-hills on our right. Dr. Overweg at once discovered we were in a new region, or zone. The mountains on the left are composed of slate-marl, and not sandstone, as before stated by myself and Dr. Oudney. Overweg considers them of a very peculiar character, and is delighted with their castle-like and battlemented shapes. But we shall have much to say of

these marl-slate mountains, coloured so beautifully, and looking nobly to the eye.

Before entering the pass of Abulaghlagh, Hateetah hid some of his wheat under the rocks to lighten his camels. I joked him, and told him I knew his hiding-place, and would return and fetch the wheat. All over these hills things are hidden, and often money, which is sometimes lost for ever, the owner dying without pointing out his hiding-place. There was no herbage for camels to-night, but we had brought a little hasheesh with us. A strong wind set in towards evening and continued nearly all night, preventing us from sleeping. We were much exhausted by our day's march, and so were all our animals; they suffer much from these long stretches. We gave them dates, as we give horses corn.

14*th*.—We rose before daylight, and got off by sunrise, continuing till about two hours after noon. The wind was so exceedingly strong, blowing from the south-east, that we did not feel the heat of the sun. But now and then we had strong gusts of hot wind, like the breath of a furnace. I tied a thin dark cotton handkerchief over my eyes, and found great relief.

Our course is now south, over a high sandy plain. We are at length fairly in the Land of Demons, as the country of the Ghât Tuaricks is called by themselves. All around, the mountains take castellated forms, and high over all rises the Kasar

Janoon, Palace or Citadel of the Ginn: a huge square mass of rock, said to be a day in circuit, and bristling with turret-pinnacles, some of which must be seven hundred feet in height. Nothing but its magnitude can convince the eye at a distance that it is not a work raised by human hands, and shattered by time or warfare. Its vast disrupted walls tower gigantically over the plain. Here, as in another Pandemonium, the spirits of the desert collect from places distant thousands of miles, for the purpose of debate or prayer. It is a mosque as well as a hall of council, and a thesaurus to boot, for unimaginable treasures are buried in its caverns. Poor people love to forge wealthy neighbours for themselves. No Tuarick will venture to explore these Titanic dwellings, for, according to old compact, the tribes of all these parts have agreed to abstain from impertinent curiosity, on condition of receiving advice and assistance from the spirit-inhabitants of their country. In my former visit I nearly lost my life in an attempt to explore it, and was supposed to have been misled by mocking-spirits: little did I think that this superstition was about to receive another confirmation.

The Kasar Janoon, and all the mountains around, were wrapped this day in haze, but loomed gigantically through. We proceeded, still in sight of this enchanted castle, over the plain, which was perfectly bare and arid, until we arrived at Wady Atoulah, where we found the beneficent ethel and

some good pickings for the camels. Not pausing long here, we proceeded another hour, and encamped in Wady Tahala, just in front of the imposing Kasar, and full in view of the mountains of Wareerat to the east.

The camels suffered much during the day's march. The Tuaricks had another knocked up, and we two, —that of the blacks, and one which I had purchased of Mr. Gagliuffi. The latter could not bring his load, and we were obliged to relieve him of all his burden; a great disappointment to me, for I bought the animal as a strong one, to go up to Soudan. It was a bar bargain, in comparison with the other camels which I purchased in Mourzuk,—costing thirty-eight mahboubs and a half. I must recover the money, and cannot allow Government to lose it. All our other camels came on well, even those which cost me much less. The other is still behind whilst I write: it is an old, worn-out, black Egyptian camel, and cost only eighteen dollars.

I did not feel so much exhausted to-day as usual. I always take tea and coffee on encamping, which restores my senses at least, and does me much good generally. I dissolve mastic with the water during the hot hours, and to-day drank at least three pints, but ate little.

The well is east from our encampment two hours, and under the mountains. There is encamped the Sfaxee, who went by the more difficult route, to arrive at Ghât before us; but it seems he will be

disappointed. He came by the pass by which I returned formerly from Ghât to Mourzuk,—certainly too difficult and narrow for the transport of the boat.

15*th*.—I rose early, and marched about three hours and a half to the well, under the Kasar Janoon; that is to say, four or five miles along the base of the eastern wall of the Kasar. But this day's adventures deserve more particular chronicle.

The Germans had determined to go and examine the Kasar, and were about to start just as I came out of my tent. They had had some altercation with Hateetah, because, partly for superstitious reasons, he would not give them a guide, and they had made up their minds to undertake the exploration alone. I saw Dr. Barth going off somewhat stiffly by himself; Dr. Overweg came to where I was standing, and asked Amankee, my Soudan servant, about the well near the Kasar, and then also went off. He said to me, "I shall boil the water on the highest point, and then go along the top to the other end." He was taking some points of the Kasar with the compass, and I observed to him, "Take the eastern point." Then he started. Yusuf called out after him, "Take a camel with you, it is very distant." Distressed at seeing them go alone, I told Amankee that if he would follow I would give him a present. He agreed, upon the condition that he should not be expected to ascent the Kasar; for he feared the

Janoon. We then gave him dates, biscuits, and a skin of water, and he started after Dr. Overweg. I confess I had my fears about them. On arriving near the well, we pitched tent near an immense spreading old ethel, which afforded us some shade. I watched the changing aspect of the Kasar nearly all the time of our three hours' ride; and could not help thinking that the more it was examined the more marvellous did it appear. I then looked out to recognise the place where I was lost four years ago, and at last I thought I could distinguish the locality. The day wore on. It blew gales of hot wind. No Germans appeared, although it had been told them that we should only stop during the hot hours of the day. However, I anticipated that they would not arrive before sunset. Hateetah sent word, that as there was little water he should not move on till to-morrow. This was good news for the Germans.

At last, about five o'clock P.M., Dr. Overweg appeared. He had experienced great thirst and fatigue; but, having the assistance of Amankee, he got back safe. He at once confessed his fears for Dr. Barth. I began to think this gentleman must either have gone to Ghât, or that some accident had befallen him. Soon, indeed, we began to have gloomy apprehensions, and to talk seriously of a search. The Tuaricks were not very civil, and Hateetah threw all the responsibility of the safety of

my fellow-travellers on me. Dr. Overweg and several people went out in search of Dr. Barth just before sunset.

Night closed in; no appearance of our friend. I hoisted a lamp on the top of the ethel, and made large fires as the sun went down, in hopes that their glare might be seen at a distance from the Kasar. Our servants returned without Dr. Overweg. He had promised to be back by sunset, and I began to fear some accident had befallen him likewise.

The evening grew late, and Hateetah came to me, in a very nervous state, to inquire after the Germans. I endeavoured to compose him by telling him the responsibility was on us, and not on him. Dr. Overweg returned at midnight. He had thrown into the desert various pieces of paper, on which was written the direction of our encampment from the Kasar. We were very uneasy, and slept little, as may be imagined; but before we retired for the night Hateetah arranged a general search for the morning.

Next morning, accordingly, at daybreak (16th), the search was commenced, by two camels scouring the environs of the desert. Dr. Overweg went with one of the parties, but returned at noon, bringing no news of Dr. Barth. Amankee with his party had, however, seen his footsteps towards the north. This was most important, as it directed our attention that way, and we thought no more of his having

gone to Ghât. We now calculated that our companion had been twenty-four hours without a drop of water, a gale of hot wind blowing all the time! Dr. Overweg proposed to me that we should offer a considerable reward, as the last effort. He mentioned twenty, but I increased the sum to fifty dollars. This set them all to work, and a Tuarick with a maharee volunteered to search. I found it necessary, however, to give him two dollars for going, besides the proffered reward; he left at two P.M., and all the people were sent off by Hateetah a couple of hours after him.

This was a dreadfully exciting day. I confess, that as the afternoon wore on I had given up nearly all hope, and continued the search merely as a matter of duty. Few will be able to imagine the anguish of losing a friend under such circumstances in the wide desert, where you may for ever remain uncertain how he came by his death, whether by the spear of a bandit, the claws of a wild beast, or by that still more deadly enemy, thirst. Just before sunset I was preparing fresh fires as a last resort, when I saw one of our blacks, the little Mahadee, running eagerly towards the encampment. Good news was in his very step. I hastened to meet him. He brought the joyful intelligence that Dr. Barth had been found, still alive, and even able to speak! The Tuarick whom I had despatched, in scouring the country with his maharee, had found him about eight miles from the camp, lying on the ground,

unable to move. For twenty-four hours he had remained in the same position, perfectly exhausted with heat and fatigue. Our fires had not been unmarked by him, but they only served to show that we were doing our best to find him. He could not move a step towards them. On seeing his deliverers, he could just muster strength to say, "Water, water!" He had finished the small supply he had taken with him the day before at noon, and had from that time suffered the most horrible tortures from thirst. He had even drunk his own blood! Twenty-eight hours without water in the Sahara! Our people could scarcely at first credit that he was alive; for their saying is, that no one can live more than twelve hours when lost in the desert during the heats of summer.

Dr. Barth was now brought back to the camp. He had still a supply of biscuit and dates with him; but eating only aggravates the torture of thirst. Moist food is fitter to carry on such occasions. We found rum very useful in restoring his health.

17*th*.—The Doctor, being of robust constitution, was well enough this day to mount his camel, and proceed with the caravan. We advanced about seven hours, and then encamped. To-morrow, a ride of a couple of hours will take us into Ghât.

## CHAPTER X.

Approach Ghât—Description of the Town—The Oasis—Reminiscences of a former Visit—Azgher Tuaricks—The Governor—Political Authority—The Sheikhs—Protection of Strangers—The Litham—Business—Reception—Meetings of Sheikhs—Disputes—Tax on liberated Slaves—Extortion practised on us—Discussion on the Treaty—Scramble for Presents—Haj Ahmed disinterested—Hateetah plays double—More Presents and further Annoyances—Mahommed Kafa—Escort of Kailouees—A Visit from 'Ouweek and the Bandit of Ghadamez—Observations on the Treaty—Collection of Dialogues—The Great Exhibition.

We were up early on the morning of the 18th, and prepared to make our official approach to the town of Ghât, which was now distant only two hours. I had already visited the place, and was familiar with its aspect; but must introduce a few words of description for the sake of the reader of the present narrative. Ghât is situated on the spur of a lofty hill, which overlooks it from the north. It is surrounded by miserable walls not more than ten feet high, pierced by six weak gates. The houses are not whitewashed, like those of Moorish towns, but retain the dirty hue of the unburnt brick and mud with which they are built. A single minaret worthy

the name, and one large building used as a general lodging-house, rise above the flat roofs of the rest of the town. Some few palm-trees bend gracefully here and there; but, in general, the groves of the oasis are a little distant from the walls. There is a suburb of some fifty houses of stone and mud; and a number of huts, made of straw and palm-branches. The whole oasis is not more than three miles in extent; the gardens produce only a little wheat, barley, and ghaseb, with some few kinds of fruit. Good water is supplied by wells; but all the palm vegetation is stunted.

From the hill that overlooks the town, a fine view is to be obtained of the little oasis and the vast extent of desert that encircles it on every side. Far to the south wave in the air the summits of the palm-groves of Berket, on the way to Aheer. To the west, hills and ridges succeed one another to the horizon; and to the east, above a line of glittering sandhills, rises the unbroken wall of the Wareerat range—the rampart thrown up by the demons to protect their favourite Tuaricks from the inroads of the conqueror. The contrast of the bright green of the oasis with the stony waste beyond is striking; and when the sun sheds its bright rays over the scene, it may really be called beautiful.

But these are reminiscences. This day, as soon as we saw the town appearing over the trees between the rocks, we hailed it with delight; not, however, as the termination, but as the starting-

point of a journey. Beyond, southward, everything to us was unknown, and, we believed, to all Europeans. Every step further, then, promised to be a discovery. Should we be allowed to proceed unmolested? Would no obstacle, natural or artificial, intervene? Much would depend on our reception in Ghât. On my former visit I had not, on the whole, reason to complain of the Sheikhs of the Tuaricks, whose chief place this is. I remembered the venerable Shafou, the dashing Khanouhen, with Jabour, and all the others, from whom I had received what might be called kindness. Hateetah, it is true, had hitherto somewhat disappointed me; and I know that great expectation had been already aroused in this little secluded territory of profit to be made out of my mission. Whether I should be able to meet all demands was a serious question with me. I am pleased to say that the Governor's son came out to meet us, and conduct us to the house of his father, who, with several of the notables of Ghât, were assembled, and gave us, in truth, a cordial reception.

It may be as well to remind the reader that Ghât is a small town which has grown up in the territory of the Azgher Tuaricks, in consequence of the convenience of the place as a station for the caravans from Soudan Proper, and other points of Central Africa. It is inhabited principally by people of Moorish origin, but mixed and known as Ghâteen. Haj Ahmed, the governor, is also a

Moor, born at Tuat. He is a marabout, or saint, but is looked up to by the people for the settlement of all municipal concerns. The Ghâteen derive their subsistence almost entirely from the caravans, although their little oasis is not unfertile.

But the political authority of the country resides entirely in the hands of the Azgher Tuaricks. Azgher is the name of the tribe or nation, and Tuarick is a generic title, which scarcely implies even community of origin, assumed by nearly all the wandering people of the Sahara. There are the Haghar Tuaricks, to the west of Ghât and south-west towards Timbuctoo; and the corresponding people of Aheer are called the Kailouee Tuaricks. At Timbuctoo itself are found the Sorghau Tuaricks.

The chief of the Tuaricks of Ghât is nominally the venerable Shafou, whose son came with Hateetah to escort me from Mourzuk; but the virtual sultanship resides in Khanouhen, the heir-apparent, or son of Shafou's sister: for this is the order of succession in Ghât. Every Tuarick, however, is in some sort a chief, and more or less influence is acquired by age or personal qualities. The principal men have divided the sources of emolument which the peculiar position of their country supplies them with. Hateetah claims to afford protection to all private English travellers, and to receive presents from them; another patronises the inhabitants of Tripoli, a third those of Soudan, and so on.

This arrangement enables a visitor to the place to calculate with some certainty about the amount of obligation he incurs. All the Tuaricks are easily distinguished by their habit of wearing a litham, or muffler, with which they conceal their mouths and all the lower part of their face. This custom gives them a strangely mysterious appearance.

The house of Haj Ahmed, the governor, to which we were conducted, is situated three parts of a mile from the town, which I did not enter during my stay. It would not have done to expose myself to the familiar impudence of the people, who had known me during my visit under very different circumstances. Besides, my time was fully taken up with business matters; so fully, that I scarcely had time even to write one or two brief despatches to Government.

On the morning of our arrival at Ghât all seemed to promise well. The Governor welcomed us with hospitality, and his slaves unloaded our camels, and quickly conducted us to our apartments. At noon, although it was Ramadhan time, we received some dishes of meat, with figs, grapes, and molasses—really a sumptuous repast. We were not allowed to go out the first day.

The next morning there was a general meeting of the Sheikhs and people of the town in our apartments; and from the turn affairs began to take, we found it necessary to despatch a courier to Aroukeen, to beg the Tanelkums to wait a few days for us at

that place. During the meeting began the first prevarication of the Tuaricks. The son of Shafou said that he did not agree to conduct us to Aheer — an assertion we contradicted strongly. At length he exclaimed: "Although I did not agree to this, I will nevertheless conduct you," — making a new favour of an old bargain.

When the meeting separated, there was another affair brought on the carpet by Hateetah and Waled Shafou. They boldly demanded seventy reals, or small dollars of Ghât, for the passage of our liberated blacks to Soudan. I declared that I would not give them a real, and told them to seize the people if they chose. Hateetah upon this went off in a rage, and Waled Shafou stayed behind, pretending to seize our servants. We did not take any notice of him, and at last he likewise departed. Mr. Gagliuffi had not been able to arrange this affair at Mourzuk,— it being left in this position, "that they (Hateetah and Shafou) would say nothing about the matter; but that if others did, we should pay a little." The man who has a right to this tribute from freed blacks is now absent from Ghât, and any claim ought to be made in his name by his representatives. When the Governor heard of this affair, he sent to tell us "to arrange the matter, and give something to these dogs of Tuaricks;" at the same time expressing his sorrow for such a shameful demand: and shameful it was, because we had already paid for ourselves and our

servants three hundred reals. Besides this sum, Hateetah and Waled Shafou had each of them received a present of about a hundred mahboubs. Finally my friend, Haj Ibrahim, the merchant, undertook to arrange this business, and paid on our account twenty-eight reals more for our servants.

On the morning of the 20th there was another general meeting, and I presented the treaty for consideration. A long discussion followed, but I at first misunderstood the conclusion to which the Sheikhs came. However, the following day we had a regular debate, the result of which was that the Sheikhs and heads of the town declared they could not come to a final arrangement until the winter souk (market), when all the notables would be assembled.

A great deal of unpleasant discussion occurred during all these meetings, and I had to fight my way step by step. The Shereef was first on my side, but as I had promised him a present only if the treaty were signed, and as he saw that this would not take place, he turned round and became my active enemy. However, it was out of his power to do me much harm. The greater part of the last days of my stay were spent in agitation about the presents for Jabour, Khanouhen, Berka, and others, some of whom were absent. I said that nothing could be given until the Sheikhs and the people of Ghât did something for the Queen—for the presents were the Queen's presents. Finally, the day before our

departure, a great uproar was made on this subject, and I was obliged to yield the point, and give them burnouses. These presents had been promised to Hateetah on the road from Mourzuk to Ghât, upon the condition that the Sheikhs and people would agree to the treaty. They had also been mentioned at Mourzuk; but then, nothing had been said about conditions. I considered it highly impolitic to allude to the treaty in the hearing of the Turks, who would have thought I was secretly going to enter into an alliance offensive and defensive with the Ghâteen against them. The Tuaricks, however, stood upon the point, that when the burnouses were promised first, there was no talk of an equivalent, and I was obliged to concede.

When I had finished distributing these presents, there was peace for the few hours that we were yet to remain at Ghât. Hâj Ahmed, however, seeing and hearing of all this confusion, became alarmed lest I should repeat it to Mourzuk, and refused to take the presents of tea, coffee, sugar, a white burnouse, and a few large carpet-rugs, which I offered him. His son, also, refused what I tendered, a fez and a turban, because it was not enough. Everybody in Ghât who expected a present from us, seemed determined to be satisfied with nothing less than a burnouse. The Governor wished to appear perfectly disinterested amidst this confusion and these extortionate demands of the Tuaricks. I was not sorry for the refusals, for really I have ten thou-

sand people to give presents to before I return from the interior.

I do not consider that, after all, Haj Ahmed treated us so well as he might have done. The first dinner was good; but the others were poor, and some of it I could not eat at all. He was disappointed at my not bringing him a printed Koran; but I could not, on this occasion, make such a present.

Hateetah, in all these disputes at Ghât, has acted a double part. Publicly he was our enemy; but privately he pretended to be our greatest friend. He was imitated in his conduct by the son of Shafou, who seemed to look upon him as his Mentor. On leaving, Hateetah promised that I should see something wonderful which he would do for me, speaking of the treaty. I am afraid that not much reliance can be placed on these fine promises.

On the morning fixed for my departure, the Sheikhs and Haj Ahmed, seeing me much grieved, out of health and out of temper, all came forward to try and repair any mischief they might have done me and their own reputation. They begged me to leave the treaty with them, and promised faithfully in the assembly of all the Sheihks, in the winter, to do their best to gratify the wishes of the British Government. They also undertook to write private letters themselves, especially Hateetah. Haj Ibrahim, to whom I presented a watch worth twenty dollars,

also promised to render me all his assistance and influence with the Sheikhs, and to be my wakeel (agent) in my absence. Jabour paid me a farewell visit, and after he received his present was very polite and jocular. Yusuf Moknee, as a Tripoline, also paid him six reals; for he is the official protector of people from that city, as well as some others. The day before, one of his people had seized my Fezzanee servant because he did not give the usual presents, viz. a barracan and common fez. He was put to "working in water," as they call it; that is, to assist in irrigating one of the gardens. After a short time, however, they allowed him to return to me. Such are the Tuaricks—grasping, violent, and capricious! I cannot, however, until I see the fate of the treaty, completely decide upon the conduct of Hateetah and the body of Sheikhs generally.

Mahommed Kafa was one of our best friends at Ghât, and had always a smile to greet us with—a great relief in a country where most of the people you meet have a frown on their brows and their mouths closely muffled up. This man is the most considerable merchant of Ghât, and exerted himself greatly to procure us an escort of Kailouees. I gave a white burnouse to him and his son. They both sent us a dinner. We were fortunate in finding a party of Kailouees here on their way to Aheer. They have agreed to act as escort, which renders us in some measure independent of the son of Shafou.

During my residence at Ghât I received a visit from my old friend Ouweek, and also from the old bandit whose acquaintance I made at Ghadamez. Ouweek was very complimentary, and shook me cordially by the hands. He observed, "There is no fear in this country; go on in advance: this country is like Fezzan." I then brought him out some tobacco, and a handkerchief to wrap it in. As usual, he did not seem satisfied with this; so I added a loaf of white sugar. He then noticed Yusuf, and thus addressed him: "Yusuf! I have heard that Hateetah and the son of Shafou are about to conduct these Christians to Soudan. I am a better man than them all! Now Hateetah and Waled Shafou will want this sugar and tobacco on the road.. I leave it for them." On this he started up on two sticks, for he is doubly lame, having the Guinea-worm in both legs, and went away hurriedly. I, however, sent the sugar and tobacco after him, and this time he condescended to accept them. He came to see me mounted on his maharee (or dromedary).

To the old bandit of Ghadamez I also presented some tobacco, and he went his way. Fortunately there were few Tuaricks in Ghât at this time, otherwise I should have had hosts of such visitors. The absence of these grasping chiefs has interfered, it is true, with the treaty of commerce; but it is possible, that even had Khanouhen been present some other shift would have been discovered. 'There are now

present in Ghât only the Sheikh Jabour, Waled Shafou, Sheikh Hateetah, Sheikh Ouweek, and Haj Ahmed, the governor of the town. The Sultan Shafou himself is on the road to Soudan, and we shall probably meet him in a few days on our way. I have, however, sent this aged chieftain a handsome sword from the English Government, by his son, to whom I gave it in one of the public meetings.

With reference to the treaty, it may, perhaps, be considered in a fair way to be finally accepted. At the winter souk every person of influence and authority in the country will be present, and in the form in which I have presented it, I believe it will provoke little or no opposition. The clauses with reference to religion and the slave-trade have, of course, been left out; the first as unnecessary, the second as dangerous at this early stage of our proceedings. Even already it may be said that the market at Ghât may safely be visited by British merchants; for although Hateetah may require heavy presents, he will certainly protect them.

However, we must bear in mind, that in a country governed in so irregular way, it is very difficult to answer for the future. The governor, Haj Ahmed himself, told me in a deprecating manner, "Ghât is a country of Sheikhs!" and Hateetah says, half jocularly, "Ghât has thirty Sultans!" Fortunately, however, it is the interest of the rulers of this part of the desert to encourage traffic; they

live by it; otherwise it would be dangerous to trust to their assurances.

We were in all but seven days in Ghât, so that I had no time to make researches. However, I am fortunate in procuring a collection of dialogues and a vocabulary of most of the common words in the Tuarick dialect of the tribes in Ghât. I employed for this purpose Mohammed Shereef, nephew of the Governor of Ghât, who is a pretty good Arabic scholar. I have also made an arrangement with my friend Haj Ibrahim to forward to the British Government a small quantity of Soudan manufactures for the Exhibition of 1851; so that the industry and handicraft of the dusky children of Central Africa may be represented side by side with the finished works of Paris and London artisans.*

* This account of Mr. Richardson's residence at Ghât is copied from a summary in his journal, with occasional insertions from his despatches to Government. It is very brief and imperfect; but the traveller was so fully occupied by various kinds of business during his stay, that he was not able to write, and only threw upon paper a rough memorandum after he had started on his way to Aheer. The imperfection is the less to be regretted, as, up to this point, the Sahara had previously been pretty well travelled and described. He now breaks fresh ground, and is more copious in his notes.—Ed.

## CHAPTER XI.

Start from Ghât—Reflections—Beautiful valley of Berket—Last Date-palms—The Kailouees—Dr. Barth lost again—Meet our Guides—The Akourou Water—Ghadeer—Soudan Influence on the Tuaricks—Wataitee leaves us—Oasis of Janet—Kailouee Character—A sick Slave—Rocky Desert—Gloomy Scene—Servants—Egheree Water—Ajunjer—A threatened Foray from Janet—Sidi Jafel Waled Sakertaf—We have no Money—Region of Granite—Dr. Barth's Comparisons—A Slave Caravan—Granite Rocks—Beating Women—The Bird of the Desert—Desolate Region—Our Relations with the Kailouees.

THE departure from Ghât was, for most of us, an exciting moment. So far I had considered myself comparatively on familiar ground; for although I had followed different routes, the great points of Mourzuk and Ghât were well known to me. Now, however, we were about to enter upon a region totally unknown, of which no authentic accounts from eye-witnesses—unless we count the vague reports of natives—had ever reached us: valleys unexplored; deserts unaffronted; countries which no European had ever surveyed. Before us, somewhere in the heart of the Sahara, raised into

magnificence perhaps by the mirage of report, was the unknown kingdom of Aheer, of which Leo Africanus hints something, but the names of whose great cities are scattered as if at haphazard over the maps, possibly hundreds of miles out of their right position. What reception shall we meet with in that untried land? In what light will its untravelled natives—fierce from ignorance and bigotry—regard this mission of infidels, coming from latitudes of which they have never dreamed, with objects unappreciable and perhaps hostile? Will nature itself be hospitable? Are there no enemies in the climate, no perils peculiar to the seasons? These questions occupied my mind as the caravan wound between the last palm-groves of Ghât; and my camel, resuming its swinging march, went away with its neck advanced like a bowsprit over this desert sea, which might be scattered with hidden dangers at every step.

The wind does not always serve at the outset of a voyage. Our first stage was only of two hours southwards, as far as Berket, a considerable town, well walled, situate under a low hill, and surrounded with palm-trees and gardens. The people visited us on our arrival; all proved troublesome and some insolent. I had heard a better account of them. Their country is pleasanter than themselves, certainly the most picturesque piece of desert I have seen since leaving Tripoli. A range of lofty black mountains extends on the east, with mounds of sand

and smaller hills at their base, dotted with the beautiful ethèl-tree; palms rise in abundance on all sides; gardens surround the wells; and animals feed about on the plain. The scenery is quite rich, and even suggests the idea of fertility. The Tuaricks possess many similar fine valleys.

We started late next day from Berket, and made only four hours to a well. Here it was necessary to wait for Waled Shafou, and the three extra camels which we have hired to go with us to Aheer. The scenery resembles that of yesterday; but there is not so much herbage, and the palms are absent. Probably the date-palms of Berket are the last trees of this species which we shall see until our return. The olive-district has long ago been left behind; and now the columnar date-palm is also to be among the things that were. They report, however, that there is a diminutive species in Aheer. We shall greet this dwarf-cousin of our old friend with pleasure.

We are on our way to meet the Kailouee Tuaricks, with whom we have arranged in Ghât to conduct us by Aheer to Zinder—a service for which we have already paid a hundred dollars of the money of Ghât. They are a company of merchants returning to their own country, and although they will probably protect us to a certain extent, can scarcely inspire so much confidence as Waled Shafou would have done. We travelled four hours on the 26th. Dr. Barth was again lost this

evening, having pushed on in his usual eager way for about half an hour. We were filled with alarm. There were two roads dividing at a certain place, one direct and the other turning off at an angle. Naturally, the Doctor followed the straight road, which proved to be the wrong one. However, knowing he had gone on before, my fears were awakened when we reached the fork; and I immediately fired several guns, and ordered a search to be commenced. The guns not only served as guides to Dr. Barth, but introduced us to the Kailouees, who were close at hand, and came running to meet us. Their appearance, for I scarcely know what reason, sent a thrill of joy through our frames; and the weariness and discouragement we had brought with us from Ghât disappeared. We entertained great hopes of these new companions. The first impression they produced was good; for they greeted us most cheerfully, and began helping to unload the camels. They have several female slaves with them, and muster in all some twenty persons and about thirty camels; so that, altogether, we shall form a very respectable caravan.

We rose early on the 27th, and starting at half-past six, continued moving until noon, when we encamped in a valley a little before the water of Akourou, where there is herbage for the camels in a hollow amidst rocky sandstone hills. The scenery of this part of the desert continues to be very varied. The range of lofty marl hills, over which

the sun rises for Ghât, is still seen stretching northwards and southwards. Animals feed about here and there; some quails whirr along the ground; black vultures, white eagles, and numerous crows, perch upon the rocks, or speckle the sky overhead. I went to visit the "Water," as they call a small lake that nestles amidst the rocks. It is of some depth, and filled, they say, merely by rain-water, very palatable to drink. Even when no showers occur for several years it does not become quite empty; and as there is no apparent reason for this, I am led to suppose it may be partly fed by some spring in the rocks that form its bed. This lake imparts an unusually cheerful aspect to the valley in which it lies. It is resorted to by the dwellers of the neighbouring district, who come to water their flocks, and feed them on the herbage that springs round the margin. These pools or collections of water are called ghadeer, which I at first mistook for the name of a particular locality. According to Yusuf, this place gives an exact idea of the Tibboo country, where, he says, there are no wells, but vast clefts in the rock, down which pours the water when it rains, to collect in the hollows at the bottom. Our people speak with great respect of this ghadeer. Everything connected with water is sacred in the desert. They say that for several weeks after a rain-storm there are regular cascades over the rocks.

Next day we advanced in six hours to a wady

similar to that we had left; curiously shaped sandstone rocks showed themselves on all sides: no fossils were discovered. Asses in droves were seen feeding about. The Tuaricks possess a good number of these useful animals, brought from Soudan, of a finer breed than those at Mourzuk. All the domestic animals of the country are from the same place—the horses, bullocks used to draw the water from the wells, as well as the sheep and asses. Ghât, indeed, is within the circle of Soudan influence; the people dress in Soudan clothes; eat off Soudan utensils; and mingle a great deal of the Soudan language with their Tuarick dialect. We feel, therefore, as if we were now going towards a centre instead of from a centre. Mourzuk, on the contrary, holds itself in connexion with the Arabs of the coast; and seems to receive no influence from the interior except by means of the Tibboos, who form a kind of connecting link. There is a considerable sprinkling of this curious people in the lower portions of the population of Mourzuk, and there are always some genuine specimens to be met with in the streets. It may be said, however, that both the capital of Fezzan and Ghât itself seem rendezvous from all parts of Africa; and I imagine, that in all the souk (market) cities of the interior the same fact will be observed. However, it will remain true, no doubt, that south of Ghât the influence of Soudan will be far more sensibly marked than on the other side.

The son of Shafou, Mahommed Wataitee, who seems to have made up his mind to shirk the journey to Aheer, left us this morning to go to Aroukeen and meet his father, who is encamped with his flocks and dependants around that well. No doubt it is fashionable in Ghât land to be "out of town" at this season of the year. Our Kailouees have determined to take another and more direct road, avoiding Aroukeen and the Azgher Tuaricks in its neighbourhood. Waled Shafou says, he shall fall in with us somewhere about Falezlez; but this seems somewhat doubtful. When people separate in the desert they must not calculate on meeting again in a hurry. We parted about three hours from the water of Akourou, the road to Aroukeen branching off there. He took the easterly route and we the westerly, and we were soon out of sight. Our way still lay through desert-hills, but with vegetation frequently. There was talk of the small oasis of Janet to our left; and we indulged in some pastoral reflections on the life of contemplative ease and primitive simplicity which would be indulged in in such an out-of-the way place.

We seem to have got into some scrape with the Kailouees. Besides the hundred dollars which Haj Ibrahim paid them to conduct us from Aheer to Zinder, it appears he promised them some burnouses, when we have none for them. They mentioned the subject to-day, very naturally. We must do as well as we can. They seem civil enough; but an

incident has just occurred which has much displeased me.

It appears that when these people came to Ghât, a few weeks ago, they left a sick slave with some shepherds among these rocks. To-day they inquired about the slave, whether she was dead, or what had become of the poor thing; but the shepherds refused to give any account,—said, in fact, they knew nothing about the matter. Upon this the Kailouees seized a black boy belonging to these poor people and dragged him along, with a rope round his neck, to terrify him into confessing what had become of the slave. The poor boy, however, had nothing to confess; so at last, after they had dragged him for some distance, they let him go. Such is a specimen of the incidents which almost daily occur, arising out of this horrible traffic. I lectured one of the Kailouees on the subject, and told him that we were in Tuarick territory, and that such an action might bring the genuine Tuaricks upon us.

It would appear that the governor of the town of Aghadez, or rather of the whole Kailouee race, is not known, there having lately been a revolution in this Saharan region. All the country is up in arms. We shall arrive at the interesting crisis of a change of dynasty. The two Sultans of Aheer known, are our friends En-Noor and Lousou.

*27th.*—We rose at daybreak and soon started, ascending from the valley through a difficult pass to a rocky plateau, over which we pursued our unde-

viating track for more than nine hours, and pitched our tents in a small and nameless wady, covered with a sprinkling of herbage. This was a trying day for the camels, the ground being rough with loose stones. How different is all this from European notions of a desert, or level expanse of sand! With some few exceptions, the Sahara is a region covered by comparatively low, rocky hills, forming valleys here and there, supplied with trees, and herbage, and water. We are now in a really uninhabited spot; scarcely a bird is seen, or a lizard, or a beetle, or any living thing, save a few flies that still follow the caravan on unwearied wing, and buzz with moderated ferocity about the noses of the camels.

What fantastic forms did the rock assume today! Now its pinnacles bristled up like a forest of pines; now there seemed to rise the forms of castles and houses, and even groups of human beings. All this is black sandstone—hideously black, unlovely, unsociable, savage-looking. 'T is a mère wilderness of rock, thrown in heaps about, with valleys, or trenches, or crevices, through which the caravan slowly winds. This is our first cloudy day. May we have many such! We feel little of the sun's power, although there is little or no wind. We must have reached a considerable elevation.

I begin to find it necessary to keep a tight rein over our servants, otherwise our encampment and party would always be in disorder. Mohammed

Tunisee is a very impertinent fellow at times, and is capable of spoiling all the others. This evening I gave the Kailouees and their servants a treat of coffee, which much delighted them. Amongst the rest was En-Noor's servant. We get on very well with them for the present.

30*th.*—We made five hours of very difficult road, winding nearly all the way through a ravine of the rocky plateau, and finally descended by a precipitous path, among some rocks, to a small lake or pool enclosed within immense cliffs of rock, called the Egheree Water. It is produced solely by rain. Within ten minutes of this, between the cliffs, is another three times the size, and of the same origin. All about, moreover, there are little pools of water sparkling amongst the rocks, left by the recent rain. We encamped in a narrow wady, called Ajunjer, further on; and propose to remain during the rest of the day and to-morrow. It has been cool to-day, with wind; the sky clear, of a deep blue. In the rocky valley we observed a species of hedge-thorn, called jadāree; also many of the fine large-leafed plants, called baranbakh; and the sweet-smelling sheeah, that reminded us of home-lavender.

We have been hitherto going on in a quiet, jog-trot way enough, almost forgetting that the desert has perils, and that we are not in a civilised land. Now comes something to awaken us out of this dream of comfort. A courier has arrived from Ghât, bringing the news that one Sidi Jafel Waled Saker-

taf, the great man of the oasis of Janet — on which we have been speculating so pastorally — is preparing to come out and intercept our passage to Soudan, near the well of Tajetterat. This pleasant intelligence came to us in a letter from Hateetah and Jabour, who, however, philosophically add that they are not quite sure it is correct. I rewarded the courier with five reals, and sent him off to Waled Shafou and the Sultan with the news; begging the former to meet us certainly at Falezlez, which is about four days from this, whilst Tajetterat is nearly eight. Janet is now only a day and a-half south-south-west from our encampment. It is a small oasis, inhabited by Moors and Tuaricks. The statistics of the place begin to interest us exceedingly. We are told that there is a good deal of corn grown there, on account of the abundance of water. Sidi Jafel Waled Sakertaf — whose voluminous name we found it quite easy to learn under these circumstances — is cousin of the Sultan Shafou, and a very old man; but we cannot hope that in these frugal regions the gout will interfere in our favour, and put a stop to this unprovoked foray.

The weather has been cool to-day. We are on high ground, although in a wady; and this renders the heat very supportable. The reported attack keeps our minds occupied, and has a little upset us; but no one talks of flinching. Besides, this has not been the first alarm, nor will it be the last. I sent an account of this circumstance so far to Lord Pal-

merston by the courier; and should have written much more, had not I been occupied with the news and with the Kailouees, who have chosen this occasion to be troublesome. We do not get so much information, by the way, out of these people as we might expect; they do not know the names of the wadys and rocks hereabouts, and so pretend they have none.

The hundred dollars which we brought from Mourzuk are now nearly all gone — I have only eight or ten left. Friend Sidi Jalef Waled Sakertaf—how unmusical the name sounds!—will get little money from us, and must content himself with our baggage, if he will play the robber. For the cousin of a Sultan, fie!

*August* 1.—We left Ajunjer early, and made five hours only, because to-morrow there is no herbage until late in the evening. How tantalising to be obliged to advance thus by short stages towards an ambuscade! We take things pretty philosophically, however, and make geological observations. Overweg (who begins to show signs of weakness) is delighted that we have at length reached a region of granite. I think I must have passed a great number of rocks of the same kind between Ghadamez and Ghât. To the eye of an ordinary observer, some of them have the same aspect as sandstone, or even limestone. This granite interests us, especially as in the direct Bornou route there appears to be none at all.

Dr. Barth compares the Tuaricks of Ghât and the Haghar to lions and tigers, and the Kailouees to snakes. The comparison well hits off their outward characteristics, but, as Overweg says, we must not judge of these people by the ordinary rules of morality, or apply to them an European standard. I suspect we shall have to put up with still more extraordinary specimens of human nature.

We were proceeding, engaged in noticing the various colours and forms of the granite, when there appeared advancing through the ravine a-head a number of moving figures. At first, of course, we were a little alarmed; but it turned out to be only a slave caravan—about twenty camels and forty slaves. One of the little boys had an immensely large head—quite a phenomenon. We, of course, eagerly questioned the merchants about Sahara news, and especially as to whether the Tuaricks had made their appearance at Falezlez or Tajetterat. They had neither seen nor heard of the hostile party; and perhaps we may hope that all this is a rumour. However, it looked very like truth; and, possibly, Sidi Jafel may know perfectly well that there is no occasion to hurry. The Tanelkums are now about four days in advance of us, and may receive the first brunt of the attack. These slave-dealers tell us, that from Falezlez to the place where we are to be robbed and murdered is four days of dismal desert, without water—suffering before sacrifice. We are getting into the heart of the Sahara at last.

Day by day the stations become more difficult. Another caravan is to pass in a few days, which may give us more definite intelligence. I am writing to Government and to my wife; but of camels I am heartily sick. Gagliuffi's camel still sticks in my throat. It was the first to knock up. I have left it at Ghât—thirty-eight mahboubs gone. People want to make a fortune out of my poor expedition.

2*d*.—We made a long day of twelve hours, at first between granite rocks for four hours, and then over a sandy plain. This plain was at first scattered with pebbles of granite, but finally it became all sand. The granite rocks were mostly conic in form, and on our right rose one peak at least six hundred feet high. Further off on the same side, at a distance, the rocks continued in a range, instead of being scattered about like so many sugar-loaves placed upon a plane, as mountains are represented to children. To-day the granite became stratified, or gneiss; there were also some fine specimens of hornblend.

One of our Kailouee friends amused himself on the road by giving a good beating to his female slave. These people transact their domestic affairs in public with the utmost simplicity. They seem to think they are showing themselves in a favourable light by this brutal conduct, for I detect glances of pride thrown towards us. Whenever these beatings occur—which they do at no distant intervals—

there is always another servant, or some one, who attempts to separate the enraged master from the object of his wrath. In the present instance, interference took place in time to prevent any very serious consequences; otherwise, I have no doubt the ruffians would go on exciting themselves, and beating harder and harder, even until death ensued. We noticed the common black bird I have already mentioned, with white head and tail. It is indeed seen everywhere, and may emphatically be called "The Bird of the Desert!"

Next day, the 3d, we started at daybreak, and made another long day of nearly twelve hours. It is necessary to hurry over these inhospitable tracts. After two hours we got among some sandhills, and continued all day over the same kind of ground — hill and valley alternating, with here and there a huge, isolated, granite, rock rising up like an island. Pebbles strewed the surface of the sandy valleys. I scarcely remember to have beheld so desolate a region. For two days there has been no water, and the camels have stretched out their necks in vain for herbage. A little grass, it is true, was plucked among the sandhills to-day, and mixed with the dates, which we are compelled to give to the camels. These poor beasts are becoming thin and gaunt, from the effects of heat, fatigue, and especially from the lack of sufficient herbage. Luckily, cool winds from the south supply the place of the gheblee.

This evening one of the Kailouees challenged me to have a run with him; I accepted the challenge, and we ran a short distance, to the great amusement of the people.

Our guides are sociable companions enough. They pointed out to day on the sand the footsteps of the caravan which we met a few days ago going to Ghât; and likewise their own footsteps, left when they passed by that way a month and a half since.

## CHAPTER XII.

Reach Falezlez—Dates left in the Desert—Road-marks—Disputes with the Kailouees—News from Tidek—Scarcity of Food in Aheer—Similitudes and Signs of the Tuaricks—Fine Climate—Arrival of Wataitee—His Boasting—Saharan travelling—My Umbrella—Grasping Son of Shafou—Geology of the Desert—The "Person who gives"—Another Caravan—Tuarick Sportsmen—Wady Aroukeen—Fine Scene—New Trees—Kailouee Camels—Fine Nights—Well—New Moon—Passing a Caravan in the Desert—Origin of the Kailouee Tuaricks—Arrive at Tajetterat—No Robbers—An Alarm—Well of Esalan—Senna—Birds—Graves of Slave Children—Our Grievances against the Tuaricks.

*4th.*—We might have reached the well of Falezlez last night; but as we did not know who might be waiting for us there, preferred halting three-quarters of an hour from it, and advanced only in the morning, in broad daylight.

Here we found our dates, left by the Tanelkums in the side of a mound of sand, with a piece of rotten wood stuck up to mark the place. Had they been, however, exposed by the side of the well, and a hundred caravans had passed, no one would have touched them. It is a point of honour to steal nothing thus confided in the desert. Mu-

tual interest suggests mutual forbearance. The Tanelkums left these dates, because we had only hired the camels to bring them thus far, and they knew we should not probably come up with them. This increase of our provisions turns out to be opportune. Without it, some of our animals might have fallen down.

Round and near Ghât we found the stones which are set up at certain intervals to mark the direction of the roads, frequently arranged in circular heaps. An usual form is pyramidal, but the most common practice of all is to set up one stone end-ways upon one or two others. Sometimes a hundred of these will be seen together.

We have had some trouble in satisfying the Kailouees for the protection they afford us. At Ghât the agreement made was for one hundred reals, half in goods and half in money, and a trifling present when they arrived at their journey's end. This was arranged by Haj Ibrahim and Mohammed Kafa, a merchant of Ghât, and consul or wakeel of the Kailouees, whom I have before mentioned. Immediately that they became a little familiar with us, they began to say that they had not received all the hundred reals; but on hearing that we should write to Ghât about it, they dropped this plea, and asked for another hundred reals as the present promised them, as they pretended, through Haj Ibrahim. When the news came respecting Sidi Jafel—taking advantage of our sup-

posed fears—they boldly demanded a sword, some burnouses, and one hundred reals in money.

All these demands I firmly resisted as long as I could; but at length, when a compromise seemed necessary, we arranged for a hundred reals more in goods. A part we have given here, and the rest we have promised on our arrival at Aheer. Nothing is now said of Zinder, although the first arrangement was from Aheer to Zinder. Such are the people we have to deal with in Africa. But could we not find similar extortion amongst the innkeepers and the conductors of carriages on the highways of Europe?

That all the people are *soua soua*—"higgledy-piggledy" is our only equivalent phrase—is bad news for a Saharan traveller; for it signifies nothing less than that there is no paramount authority in a country, and that the traveller is exposed to the insolence of every evil-disposed person. Such is represented to be the condition of Tidek, the first province of Aheer upon which we shall enter.

The scarcity of food in Aheer—one of the causes of the disturbances that are taking place—arises, we are told, from the quantity of provisions carried away from the country when the Kailouees made their expedition against the Walad Suleiman. But this expedition is now finished, and there has been time for a revival of prosperity. Sickness and disease are reported in Aheer at the present time. These are unpleasant tidings for a

traveller who is braving the fatigues and perils of the Great Sahara, in hopes of some little repose at his journey's end.

To express great numbers, the Arabs and Tuaricks always use the similitudes, "like the dust," or "like flies." When the Tuaricks say we are to give nothing to anybody—speaking, of course, of other people, as Hateetah to me—they take up a little sand between the ends of their fingers and scatter it on the palms of their hands. When they wish to describe roads free from hills and ravines they extend the palm of their hands, adding, "Like this." I cannot say that I admire the Kailouees in any respect. Barth's comparison to snakes is tolerably correct. They have duped us in various ways, and our only consolation is being able to report their conduct to their friends in Ghât and Zinder.

These observations occur to me during our prolonged halt at the well of Falezlez. The whole caravan needs this refreshment, both on account of the fatigues it has already encountered, as of those to which it may look forward on the tract of desert which now stretches wild and inhospitable before us. Yesterday the sky was completely overcast; but during the night and this morning the clouds have been succeeded by wind, and strong blasts have completely cooled us. I do not think that the climate would affect me so much as it does if I had something good to eat; but the Tanelkums have got

with them all my soups. The Germans eat hausa like Tuaricks, and do very well. I expected to find the water of Falezlez most unpalatable. This, indeed, is its reputation; but we were all ageeably deceived, and the salt taste was scarcely perceptible.

About ten in the morning, on the 5th, a solitary white camel, with a rider, was reported as trotting rapidly over the hills to the east. The circumstance created some excitement. It was Mohammed Wataitee, son of Shafou, coming riding like the monarch of the desert, as he is, upon his fine maharee. He had been travelling three days and three nights consecutively; and however eager we were to hear his opinion of the dangers that threatened us, it was necessary to allow him to spend the whole day in repose.

When we could get speech of the traveller, he talked boastfully of the value of his protection, and assured us that we had really nothing to fear. He had heard, or would acknowledge to have heard, no rumours of the hostile intentions of his father's cousin; only, he observed, "He is an old man," with a gesture that implied wilfulness. He would have us believe that this terrible enemy who has been pursuing us—at least in our imagination—is nothing but a testy old gentleman, who says these sort of things in a fanciful way just to express his power.

*6th.*—We were off soon after sunrise, and made a long day of twelve hours. The Kailouees were

half an hour more performing the same distance. They started first, and we travel a little faster than they. Scarcely a blade of herbage cheered our sight to-day. A sandy, gravelly hamadah, with a few rocks and sandhills here and there,—such is the nature of the country. The rocks now assume a conic form, *he ras suker*, like a sugar-loaf, as the people say. Our course was south-west, and so it will continue to be, nearly as far as Esalan. I was amused by an observation of Dr. Overweg; he said, "I now understand the system of these people" (Saharan travellers). "It is to travel as much as possible without labour—to do all that is necessary, but nothing more. When we left Tripoli, instead of reposing immediately at the camping-ground of the caravan, everybody was running about to climb the hills and rocks; but now we all fall down to rest as soon as we have halted." The Doctor speaks of himself and Barth, certainly not of me; for I always rested as much as possible with the people.

My old broken white umbrella attracts some attention amongst the Kailouees. They all make a trial of it. Strong umbrellas would be very useful during the hot summer months for all Saharan travellers.

I to-day asked the son of Shafou how his father liked the sword. An unfortunate question. He replied, "Ah, he sends his compliments; but says the sword is a little thing, and that you ought to have sent him some money. There were many

people waiting to see you at Aroukeen. They were much disappointed at your not coming. They said,—'The Christians must pass this way.'" It appears that a whole tribe of Tuaricks were waiting for us, to beg, and to "eat us up," as the Arabs graphically express it. In this respect we have been fortunate in not finding Tuaricks on our line of route.

*7th.*—We made another long and weary day of twelve hours. The fatigue is killing. Our course was south-west, through heaps and groups of rocks and narrow shallow wadys. In some directions, ridges of small rocks; in others, isolated masses of conic form. The bed of the desert is mostly granite, and some of the rocks are of the same substance. Indeed, the Central Sahara seems to bristle with ridges of granite. Then there are many varieties of this stone, and others springing out of granite, as quartz rocks and felspar, and some sandstone mixed with quartz. Across our path we observed many traces of wild oxen, and a few were seen with their immense horns. Birds and reptiles were rare, and the lizard not so frequent as before. Our camels found scarcely a mouthful of hasheesh; no trees were visible, except a few miserable tholukhs.

The Kailouees have changed in a marked manner since Wataitee has rejoined us, and are much more civil. But I do not talk to them, contenting myself with a civil "Good day. How do you do?"

This prevents them from begging of me. They beg of Barth and Overweg, who do not notice them. As I am "the person who gives," I am obliged to be very polite, but distant.

*8th.*—We started at sunrise, and made a short day of seven hours and a-half, resting at last in a wady surrounded with rocks, where there was some good herbage.

In the course of this march we met another portion of the large Soudan caravan, and consigned to it our letters. They brought the news that the Tanelkums were a day only in advance, having halted to take up water at Aroukeen, where they dug again the old well which had been blocked with stones.

This caravan informed us, besides, that the body of the large caravan was resting at the well of Tajetterat. They had seen no Tuaricks. We begin to hope that we have been disturbed by false alarms.

At about four hours from the encampment of yesterday we descried some mountains to the south-west. Near them is the well of Janet, said to be about seven hours out of the line of route. It is a frequent resort of Tuaricks, who come to the neighbourhood for hunting purposes. All this region is favourable to sport. Along our route to-day were noticed footmarks of wild oxen and wadan.

Wataitee asked me whether he should go to see if there were any Tuaricks at Janet, to get

news of them; but I told him that he had better continue with us until we reach Tajetterat. This he has agreed to do; and we all feel that his presence is, to a certain extent, a protection.

In the evening we had a visit from three Tuarick sportsmen, with a couple of dogs. We purchased two carcases of wadan from them. It would have been most amusing to an untravelled European to witness the bartering between us. The principal hunter got hold of the grey calico, and would not let go until he had his full measure. Then how deliberately he measured again with his long arms, with all the appearance of justice, whilst he was filching off inches at once! Two small carcases cost us about a mahboub. Wataitee pretends that these hunters never carry provisions with them, but must catch wadan and oxen or die. I made a tremendous supper of wadan, being as ravenous as a wolf for a little meat and soup. The meat is so strong and nourishing, that it threatened to produce injurious effects. It is necessary to be cautious about indulging in unaccustomed food. Still this meat is far superior to camels' flesh.

*9th.*—We rose, and, with our accustomed regularity, started before daybreak in search of water, for the Kailouees are without this element essential to life in the desert. Having continued about six hours and a-half, we encamped in Wady Aroukeen. It would not have been necessary to come to this place, had our imprudent Kailouees taken in a suf-

ficient supply of water. This wady lies east and Tajetterat west.

Our course had been over an elevated rocky plain; but I had no idea of the height to which we had arrived. Suddenly the ground broke up on either side of the track into rocky eminences, and we now came to the brow of a sharp descent The valley of Aroukeen wound as it were like a snake far down at the bottom of an immense hollow, surrounded on all sides by an amphitheatre of savage-looking mountains—great stony swells, made hideous here and there by crags and ravines, and piled away on all sides in shattered magnificence. This is the grandest desert prospect I have yet seen, and must strongly clash with the ordinary notion of the Great Sahara which untravelled geologists have represented as the recently-elevated bed of some ocean. We must now have reached the summit of an inland Atlas, dividing the extreme limits of the Ghât territory from the, to us, mysterious kingdom of Aheer.

In Wady Aroukeen there are some of the finest tholukhs I have seen, reaching the height of thirty or forty feet. There are, besides, two new species of trees, the adwa of Soudan, called, in Aheer, *aborah:* they have not been observed before, and are natives of Bornou. Their general aspect resembles the tholukh, but they have large prickles and a smooth roundish leaf. There is a good deal of hasheesh in this valley.

We are now, they say, about twelve days from Aheer, exclusive of the stoppages; twelve days, I mean, of twelve hours a-piece. These long stretches are desperately fatiguing, and trying to the health; but there is no remedy. We must make these weary stages on account of the scarcity of water and herbage for the camels. The Kaïlouees tie their camels by the lower jaw, and fasten the string to the baggage piled on the back of the preceding animal; and the long line moves on well this way. The Tuaricks fasten their bridles, when they ride their maharees, by a round ring in the nose.

We had granite again to-day, and fine beds of felspar, pebbles, and rocks. The geology of this portion of Sahara is very interesting, but no crystals have yet been found. Yesterday and to-day the wind has been high, moderating greatly the heat. The wind is nearly always south-east. The nights are resplendent. Jupiter and Venus are seen close together in beautiful conjunction. The constellation of the Scorpion rises higher in the south, whilst the Pole-star apparently falls.

I read nothing nowadays but a few verses of the Greek Testament, and write these miserable leaves of journal. I must save my strength. I am very weak as it is. We have still got nearly forty days of actual travelling to make before we enter Soudan, but we hope Providence will allow us a little rest at Aheer.

10*th*.—We moved on late this morning up Wady

Aroukeen, one hour and a-half, to a place where we have better feeding for the camels; but it was scarcely worth the trouble of loading and unloading, as the animals could have been led up here to this portion of the wady.

Wady Aroukeen is in every respect a desirable place for the resting-place of a caravan. It is full of trees and hasheesh, and lined with lofty precipitous rocks, which afford shelter in winter and in summer, and, as say the Scriptures, give "the shadow of a great rock in a weary land." The well dug by the Tanelkums supplies very palatable water. It lies about an hour and a-half from our encampment.

I sent off my Soudanese servant this morning to the Tanelkums, to ask them to wait for us; or, at least leave the things behind which I require for our use.

Yesterday evening the new moon (second evening) was seen by our people, telling them that the Ramadhan was finished. They saluted the pale crescent horn with some discharges of their guns.

To-day is a great feast, but they have not the means of keeping it.

I cannot say that at this portion of my journey my mind is visited by much cheerfulness. However agreeable may be the valley of Aroukeen, with its grass patches, its clumps of trees, and the eternal shadow of its rocks, I find my strength begin, to a certain extent, to fail me. For several days I

have had some threatening symptoms of ill-health; not very serious, perhaps, to a person surrounded with any of the comforts of civilisation, but much so to one in my position. Besides, despite my endeavours to disbelieve the dangers with which we are said to be menaced from lawless freebooters, it is difficult to disregard them so far as to remain perfectly impassive.

My Kailouee friends do not seem to share our apprehensions. Sometimes this circumstance cheers me; at others it suggests the idea that they may be in league with their brethren. Let us hope not. At any rate I am still displeased with them on account of their shabby conduct, and disposed, perhaps, to look at them more unfavourably than they deserve.

A man came over the hills to our right in the course of the day. He belonged to the Soudan caravan, the great body of which was passing at no great distance by another road. Our presence does not seem to be agreeable to such of these people as derive no profit from it. This individual, in his own name and that of his companions, insists that we Christians must not be allowed to enter the City of Marabouts, the Holy City of Aheer. Many Musulman countries of the interior have their holy cities. Perhaps this worthy man made these observations because he had nothing else to say. At any rate, having expressed his opinion, he went off. I regretted his churlish warning; but his presence,

to a certain extent, cheered me. It was pleasant to know that a large body of my fellow-creatures were near at hand in this inhospitable desert, even though they entertained feelings of suspicion against us, and were proceeding on a path which might never again bring us together. Caravans often pass thus in these regions, like ships at sea, which hail each other if within hearing, but, not lying-to, are satisfied by this slight testimony of mutual sympathy.

11*th*.—We started somewhat late, and made a good day of nine hours and a-half through winding narrow valleys, supplying a fair quantity of hasheesh. The country around was wild and rugged—still the same primitive formation, gneiss being the most common rock. On the way we heard the story of the origin of the Kailouees, as given by the Haghar Tuaricks; it is probably meant as a satire. According to this people, a female slave escaped from their country, and travelling over the desert, reached her native place in Soudan. But she bore within her bosom a pledge that still half bound her to her ancient masters. She brought forth a male child, and loved him and reared him; so that in process of time he took a wife, and from this union sprung the bastard race of Kailouees.

12*th*.—We had halted the previous evening because we were within an hour of the well of Tajetterat, which had become famous in our caravan as the place where we were to be attacked and de-

spoiled by the freebooter Sidi Jafel Waled Sakertaf. This morning we pursued our way, cautiously sending scouts before. But as the wady opened, the place proved to be desolate, and we advanced joyously, with the confidence that this time at least we had been disturbed by a false alarm. Still, as we descended towards the well we could not now and then refrain from casting our glances about into the gorges of the mountains, to discover whether or not, after all, our enemies were lying in ambush there. Not a living thing stirred upon the hills; and we gathered round the two wells, or rather holes scraped out of the sand, with feelings of delight and confidence. The water proved to be good; it is said to be produced by rain, and to be purgative,—a quality it must derive from the soil through which it trickles.

We determined, however, not to stop at this place, lest the men of Janet* might after all arrive; and pushing on, in hopes that our track might be confounded with those of the caravans, we reached, after a rapid march of five hours and a-half, the well of Esalan. As we approached, we saw an encampment in its neighbourhood, and camels grazing about. Our vanguard halted; and the whole caravan soon became massed in the entrance of the

* This name is sometimes written "Janet," sometimes "Ghanet." by Mr. Richardson, who, moreover, now describes the inhabitants of the place as Haghar and then as Azgher. A more definite account is given further on. It appears, however, that vulgarly in the Sahara all the Tuaricks are called Haghar, or Hagar, which seems to have been used rather indiscriminately in the caravan as a term of fear.—Ed.

gorge through which we were about to issue. Our far-sighted guards, however, soon discovered that there was no cause for alarm. We had at length overtaken our Tanelkum friends; and riding forward I greeted them, and, forgetting all idea of danger, anxiously asked for our baggage, and above all for my inestimable supply of potted soups!

In this part of the country the scenery is far more open than it was before; the mountains are lower, but the wadys are not so wide. Here and there occurred considerable patches of herbage, called *sabot*, and many large, fine trees. Amongst the smaller ones, for the first time, we came upon the senna plant, some of the leaves of which our people plucked. Higher up, in Aheer, is apparently the native soil of this plant. We had also again the adwa, several trees, and the kaiou or kremka, the only plant we have yet seen with a truly tropical aspect.

The adwa bears a fruit something like the date, and is eaten by the people in Soudan. As to the *sabot*, above mentioned, it is a kind of herbage, which covers the beds of the valleys in this region of primitive rock: it forms the principal food of our camels. The *bou rekabah*, however, the best for them, is in small quantities, but when seen is devoured to the sand. The people of Aheer eat its seed as ghaseb.

Yesterday we saw, for the first time, a bird's nest in the desert, in the side of a rock. It contained no

eggs; our people, on a former occasion, brought in some. It is astonishing how few birds' nests are found, though in some places a good number of small flutterers are seen. About the wells of Tajetterat darted half-a-dozen quails. We have not yet observed an ostrich, although many traces have been found on the sand. Around, however, are numbers of the wadan,* and our huntsmen are active. Yesterday some flesh of this animal was brought in.

In this part of the route we frequently fell in with small heaps of stones; and if we ask what they mean, are invariably told they are the graves of slave-children who have perished by the way, most probably in the arms of their mothers. What wonderful tales of sorrow and anguish could these rocks give, if they were not compelled to eternal dumbness! What sighs, what shrieks of grief have echoed here! How many tears have watered this track! These thoughts saddened our way; but they seemed at the same time to rouse that enthusiasm which is the only adequate ally to those engaged in such a mission as ours.

The son of Shafou is to leave us at Esalan. I may as well record here, in form, a list of our griev-

* Wadan is the Arabic name of the aoudad of the Berbers. We call the animal "mouflon" (*Ovis tragelaphus*). It is found in considerable numbers throughout the deserts of Northern Africa, from the Atlantic to the Red Sea. I have seen a beautiful specimen, nearly all milk-white, in Cairo.—Ed.

ances against the Tuaricks, for the information and warning of future travellers:—

1st. They, the Tuaricks, wished to obtain presents from the Germans, nearly in the same quantity as from myself; or, at least, something considerable.

2d. They wanted us to remain six weeks in Ghât, to wait for an answer from Sultan En-Noor at Aheer.

3d. They refused to conduct us to the frontier of Aheer, according to their agreement at Mourzuk.

4th. They demanded seventy reals for the passage of our free blacks.

5th. They insisted on having the presents for Berka, Khanouhen, and Jabour, before the treaty was signed.

The first two demands I successfully resisted, as also the third at Ghât. The fourth was compromised; we paid twenty-eight reals instead of seventy. The last I yielded, on the condition that I should only give three burnouses.

13*th*.—The water of Esalan is, likewise, nothing but a deposit of rain. Several holes are scooped out in the sand, down to the rocky bed of the valley.

## CHAPTER XIII.

News of Sidi Jafel—Disputes with Wataitee—His violent Conduct and strange Language—The Desert—Scarcity of Money—Proceed through a rocky Country—Soudan Weather—Approach the Frontiers of Aheer—Storm—Hard Day's Travelling—The Seven Wells of Aisou—"The Haghar are coming"—Suspicious Characters—Alarm—The Three Strangers—Our Hospitality—Heat of the Weather—Hard Travelling—Account of the Kailouee Guides—Women of the Caravan—Their Treatment—Youthful Concubines—Another long Day—A Rock-Altar—Demonstrations of the Haghar—Wells of Jeenanee—Marks of Rain—Sprightly Blacks—New Climate—Change in the Vegetation and the Atmosphere.

We have at length heard what appears to be a fair account of the rumour respecting that terrible Sidi Jafel. He did leave Janet as if bound for Tajetterat; but it was for the purpose of giving his camels a feeding of herbage in that direction. He took his family and tents with him, and has been seen with his son by the huntsmen of Wady Aroukeen. He is not a sheikh, but a spirited old man; and, from what I can understand, is a Haghar belonging to Ghemama, and not an Azgher of Ghât. They now assure us that he had never any intention of attacking

us; but as there is rarely smoke without a fire, it is possible he may have indulged in a little threatening talk, just to impress an idea of his importance on the people of Janet. This is Waled Shafou's view of the case.

We moved on from the well of Esalan in the evening, but only for an hour and a half, to a place in the same wady, where there was abundant herbage for the camels. Here we had another Tuarick dispute. Wataitee pretended to fix at a very high rate his services in answering to our call, and proceeding with us as far as this well. At first I refused to give anything at all, since he had stipulated to conduct us as far as the frontiers of Aheer. I then offered him a burnouse (a small white one), and a shasheeah (or fez), both which he obstinately rejected in my teeth, but did not state what he wanted — except muttering, "Money, money, money!"

Fearing some violence from his threatening manner, I was obliged to load my guns and pistols. Whilst declaring he would not take anything by force, he used very threatening language. He was to have left us at the well, but followed us this evening; and when we decamped I determined, therefore, if possible, to come to some arrangement with him through En-Noor, as he might prove a dangerous enemy.

Whilst speaking to Yusuf on this subject, En-Noor the Kailouee, who, by the bye, must not be

confounded with the Sultan of Aheer bearing the same name, came in and told us that he had just seen Wataitee, who was exceedingly exasperated, and who threatened to stop the caravan in the morning if his demands were not complied with. What is to be done? Were we to aim at satisfying all the unjust claims made upon us, we should not only be beggared immediately, but should have whole crowds of fresh suppliants coming in every day. Wataitee seems to expect that I should give him something like a hundred reals in money for his pretended extra services, and goes thundering about, "that the lands, and rocks, and mountains of Ghât do not belong to God, but to the Azgher, to whom the Creator has given them once and for ever, and who are the sovereign and omnipotent rulers of this portion of earth—this large tract of Sahara." There has often been detected in the speeches of African princes a certain degree of blasphemy and resistance to the omnipotent sovereignty of the Deity they adore; and this kind of language was not new to me. The possessors of lawless power seem easily to identify themselves with gods.

To us, naked rocks, and treeless valleys, and bare stony plains, are objects without interest, except in a geological point of view. But it is very different with the Haghar and Azgher. In their eyes, a plain of stones and sand holds the place of a heath of growing bloom; a barren valley is a vale of fertility; rocks and mountains are always objects of

beauty; whilst wells are treasures of wealth, as indeed they are verily in the desert. A Tuarick may be said to know every stone of his arid kingdom.

Taking these things into consideration, and making a merit of necessity, we agreed together to offer him thirty reals. He had already come down to fifty, and now accepted the thirty, but said they must be the large ones, or *douros* (dollars). It was arranged that I should pay the money to En-Noor in Aheer; for all now had become convinced that not one of us three had any dollars worth speaking of left. I believe I have some six or seven, whilst the Germans have none. If we had brought a thousand with us, they would all have been scattered to the wind in these Tuarick countries. Our servants, being persuaded that we have no dollars left, have sworn to the fact: so that my candid declaration, "That if they were to kill me, they could not find ten dollars to pay them for their trouble," is now believed.

14*th*.—Wataitee came early to my tent, and asked me for a bit of sugar. I gave him half a loaf, with which he was apparently well satisfied; for afterwards he asked if I had any letters to take to Ghât. I consigned to him a letter for Mr. Bidwell and my wife. Wataitee amused Barth by recounting to him numerous dues which he had failed to pay. Amongst the rest, a tax to see the Kasar Janoon; fifty dollars for drinking of the well of Esalan, &c.

&c. These matters being at length settled, we proceeded for Aisou, and journeyed a long day of twelve hours and a-half. I was looking out every moment, expecting to clear the rocks, and enter upon the immeasurable stretch of plain reported to us. But all was a rocky granite expanse, with conical-shaped rocks, exactly as before described. We begin to tire of this kind of country, which seemed so picturesque when we first entered upon it.

To-day the weather was misty, and we felt as if entering into the circle of a new climate. Few or no animals were seen. All is dismal and dreary.

15*th*.—We rose at daybreak, and proceeded steadily on, making a day's journey of thirteen long weary hours. The stony plain opened rather more than yesterday, but there were always rocks on either hand.

To-day we had the first drops of Soudan rain, and a complete Soudan atmosphere. We also observed the vermilion tinge on the clouds, peculiar to Central Africa; and the air was hot and clammy. Every sort of desert phenomenon is seen in these parts in perfection. The mirage often fills up the interstices left between the rocks, and inundates the plain a-head with its fantastic waters.

16*th*.—We were early in motion this day; and started, cheered by the hope held out to us, that at the termination of two long marches we should at length reach, at the Seven Wells of Aisou, the

frontiers of Aheer. It is true that we were promised no town, no village, not even visible landmarks; above all, no custom-house officers to suggest the blessings of civilisation. There was, in truth, some idea that very indefinite dues might be exacted of us during our progress through the northern districts of the Asben territory. Still it was a comfort to get at last within the limits of the influence of a form of polity, however rude.

Whilst we were indulging in these reflections, there came on a regular desert-storm. A vault of clouds, like huge irregular rocks, was soon heaped up overhead. The thunder roared from side to side of the horizon. The lightning flashed, sometimes above, sometimes between the isolated hills, showing them like long black tents pitched here and there on the plain. Our beasts moved eagerly on; and their drivers, though accustomed to such phenomena, were hushed into awe. The tempest did not last many minutes; but it was accompanied by wind so violent that we could scarcely preserve our seats in the saddles, and finished off with so violent a shower of rain that we got quite wet through almost in an instant. This is a fair warning that we are really within the tropics.

We made fourteen hours that day, and felt dreadfully exhausted on arriving at the place where we expected to encamp for the night. In two hours, however, the Kailouees came and told us that

there was no more water in the skins; that the camels were restless, knowing that a well was ahead; and that it was better to move on at once, and make for the well of Aisou, that marks the commencement of the Aheer territory. We started, therefore, again, although I was suffering from illness, and moved on all night, nodding in our saddles in a half-slumber, that to those unaccustomed is almost more fatiguing than watchfulness. Several times I felt inclined to insist on a halt; but the people, who were eager to arrive, cried out that *the camels wanted to reach the water;* and proceeding accordingly, about seven o'clock the next morning we at length reached the Seven Wells. We found only two open, the others being closed up by sand. Some of them belong to the Kailouees, and the others to the Tuaricks of Ghât. There is no good feeding for the camels, only a few tufts of coarse herbage. The kingdom of Aheer presents itself under grim colours. I did not move about this day, but consecrated it to rest. The rocks of Asben rise above the horizon.

18*th.*—Bidding adieu to the land of Ghât—if that name can be applied to the desert which we have just traversed—we left the Seven Wells, and once more entered upon the desert. We had scarcely been in motion two hours, when there was an alarm of Haghar coming upon us from behind. I did not at first know how the report originated, and looked anxiously around upon the desert expecting

to see a body of enemies charging down some valley. All the people ran for their guns, and I hastily delivered out powder and ball. It was amusing to see the slaves with their bows and arrows, coming forward and trying to look martial. I have no doubt they would have done their best. When the tumult was a little calmed, I learned that two of our people, who had remained behind a short time at the wells of Aisou, saw a Tuarick coming up to the place, and two others slowly following, all three mounted on tall maharees. They spoke to the one who arrived first, and inquired if many were behind. To this they received a laconic answer, "Yes." One of them accordingly, feigning to retire, left his servant hid behind a rock to watch what took place, and ran after us to communicate the unwelcome intelligence, that we might expect an attack. We marched the whole day with our weapons in hand, keeping a sharp look-out in the rear. Of course there was no other subject of conversation than the robbers, of whose existence our fears made us certain. Were they, after all, led by that Sidi Jafel, of whom rumour had lately become so complimentary? Whence did these encouraging accounts come? Were they circulated by persons interested in putting us off our guard? Discussing these questions, we pushed on through a very arid country, searching for one of those two blessings, which seem to be always separated in this part of the desert,—water and

herbage. We had found the former at Aisou; the latter greeted us in plenty at a place called Takeesat, where we encamped, intending to pass the night and the whole of next day. The herbage was of the kind called *nasee*, which is very strengthening for the camels.

I believed that the Haghar would not follow the Kailouees upon their own territory, but I was mistaken. Just before sunset, to our surprise, we saw rising above the hills around the valley where we are encamped, three mounted men. These mysterious Haghar are then determined, we thought, to pursue us Christians as their natural prey! The men rode coolly up and mingled with us, probably understanding and enjoying the looks of suspicion and terror that greeted them. No one thought proper, at first, to address them a single question; and they were allowed to picket their maharees without molestation. It must be confessed that there was no little agitation in our camp, and everything was done to give any attacking force a warm reception. We made barricades of the boat, and kept watch all night. We also scoured the valley all round to see if there were any other people about.

I must insist, for the credit of our gallantry, that it was not of these three men that we were afraid. Our caravan was composed of sixty individuals capable of bearing arms, besides women and children. Our camels also amounted to one hundred and seven. Had we not, therefore, been tormented

for so many days by rumours of intended attacks, we should have laughed at these Haghars, however fierce might have been their looks, and however hostile their intentions. But our guides, who knew the habits of the desert, did not think it beneath their dignity to be alarmed, nor to look anxiously about to the right and to the left, as if every stone concealed an enemy, every ravine an ambush.

By the way, it may be as well to mention here, that the reader may know how to call the enemies we feared, that although vulgarly the whole race that inhabits between the borders of Fezzan and Timbuctoo are called Haghar, the Tuaricks of Ghât are properly distinguished as Azgher; and those located towards Tuat and the Joliba, Haghar. Had they and their party been of generally predatory dispositions, they would have had something to occupy them—the caravan belonging to Haj Ibrahim coming from Soudan. We should, perhaps, be uncharitable enough to hope that precious time might be occupied in plundering these good people, were we not certain that, if we are really to be attacked, it is because of the presence of Christians. Will our guides peril life or limb to preserve from danger people whose tenets they abhor?

*19th.*—The three men, supposed scouts or spies, remained with us during the night. At first, it was proposed to push on, and get as far as possible away from danger; but as our unbidden guests made a great oath that they did not know that there were foreigners

in the caravan, and that they only wanted a supper, having had nothing to eat for fifteen days, we determined to carry out our original intention, both for the sake of our camels and ourselves. That the men might be bound to us by the tie of hospitality, I presented them with some hamsa, to which En-Noor added a little zumeetah, and we determined at all hazards to give our camels and ourselves rest. Our people, in fact, soon discovered that the Tuaricks had brought nothing with them but a single skin of water. They pretend they are going to see their friends and relations in Aheer, and wish to accompany us, which our people have politely declined. But I must see the end of them before I set down an opinion.

I wrote up my journal to-day, and am in good health. My spirits are a little soured, nay, exasperated into activity by these constant troubles. It is very hot now. I have hit upon a happy contrivance for keeping out the sun from my tent. I lay my carpet on the sandy floor of my tent, and with my table and the frame of my bed I make a wooden covering over. On the top I place my mattress and thick blankets. I then lay myself down underneath; and am perfectly protected from the sun above, whilst the cool breeze enters at the bottom of the tent. There is, then, not a person in the caravan who suffers so little from the heat as I do. I recommend the plan to travellers.

These last four days we have made immense

progress towards Aheer—I mean, its inhabited districts.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wednesday .. .. .. .. | 12½ hours .. | 31 miles. |
| Thursday .. .. .. .. | 13 „ .. | 32½ „ |
| Friday .. .. .. .. | 14 „ .. | 35 „ |
| Friday night to Saturday morning . | 9 „ .. | 22½ „ |
| At 2½ miles an hour .. | | 121 miles. |

Sometimes, however, the camels went at least three miles an hour. We have come, indeed, about 130 miles, and nearly all south; which has brought us so much more within the influence of the climate of Soudan. On the third day, at noon, the granite region disappeared, and we have now sandstone again.

Some of our servants have begun to feel uneasy, and are becoming troublesome, in consequence of these constant alarms of Haghar. To do the free blacks justice, they behave well. Yusuf is getting out of temper, and somewhat changed in manner. He is annoyed at seeing me not place so much confidence in him as at first; I have reason to be dissatisfied with his carelessness. Mahommed of Tunis is a good servant, but at times impertinent.

I am getting rather more accustomed to our Kailouee companions. They are dressed in most respects like the Tuaricks, but seem to take pride in loading themselves with a luxury of weapons. To see one of them running after a camel is really a ludicrous sight: bow, arrows, sword, gun, pistols,

dagger, stick out in all directions, and it is hard to imagine how they would behave in the midst of this arsenal if attacked. The chief of them is En-Noor, a person of mild and good manners—quite a gentleman, in fact. He is a man of light complexion, but his two companions are dark as thorough negroes. These individuals, Dedee and Feraghe by name, are great beggars, and by no means scrupulous in their conduct. I steadily resist their demands. En-Noor manages to preserve his dignity by their side. He tells me he will go along with us as far as Zinder. The Kailouees have some servants with them, very good-humoured black fellows. Of the Tanelkums I know little; but Haj Omer, who will accompany us to Kanou, seems a man of courage and tact. There are two or three venerable old men amongst these Tuaricks, together with some young ones. They all feel the civilising effect of visiting Mourzuk. Certainly this people could do much, if they pleased, for the civilisation of Africa; but at present they are actively engaged in drawing out of the unfortunate central countries the capital requisite to maintain even their existence. Of Boro, the sheikh of Aghadez, I cannot yet venture an opinion. They say, he spoke sharply against Hateetah and Wataitee.

To return to the Kailouees. I imagine they must resemble all the men we shall find in the interior, in one respect—the love of women. They are eloquent in describing the beauties of the cities

of Soudan—eloquent, I mean, in their sensual style, of which I cannot venture to give a specimen. The Tanelkums, children of the desert, are, like the Haghars, far less sensual in their imaginations, and indulge less in amorous conversation. There are some comely women-slaves in the caravan, but most of them are very plain. They have in general negro features, but a few are light in complexion. Their clothing is poor, without any attempt at finery; but when they have prepared the food of their masters they take their shares freely. They walk well on the road when necessary, and being light and slightly made, do not appear to suffer from fatigue.

As a rule, all these women are modest and decorous in behaviour, and are treated with considerable respect. No master interferes with the slaves of another, and most of them are permitted in their turn to ride. A poor creature belonging to a Tuatee, however, is forced always to trudge on foot, although its master often takes a lift himself. Two of the women have infants in their arms—little things, as knowing, to all appearance, as those that can run. These mothers, with their children, are treated with great tenderness and care.

Some of the merchants had as many as three female slaves a-piece; but it is to be observed, that they are mere girls. The Africans who can afford to indulge their tastes, abhor women of any age. All their slaves are of tender years. The older these

gentlemen get, the younger they require their concubines to be. An aged sinner of Aghadez had a mere child with him. En-Noor is said to have half-a-dozen stout girls running about his house. Really, to satisfy the passions and sensuality of these Africans, women should be like the houris of Paradise, and never grow old. Those that accompanied us were, of course, regarded as mistresses, but were required also to do nearly all the drudgery of the caravan. Their masters must have sold much prettier and finer girls at Ghât.

The name of the place where we are now encamped is, as I have said, Takeesat, and that of the rocky plain we traversed between Esalan and Aisou is [*omitted in Journal*]. We shall now have great confusion in the denominations of places, the Tuaricks using one name and the Kailouees another.

20*th*.—We rose early, and at four o'clock were already in motion. It was a long and weary day—fourteen hours of actual travelling; but this, thank Heaven! is, we are told, the last long stretch of that kind we shall have to undertake. The country was nearly similar to that between Falezlez and Aisou; plains or slightly indented valleys. The granite appeared again, with sandstone on the top. No herbage was found to-day, except a few scanty bits here and there.

In the morning our blacks all ran up to a sugar-loaf shaped rock, which they called their altar

or temple, Jama. There they performed certain strange incantations, after which they descended and began to indulge in mock-fights, sometimes even simulating an attack upon the caravan. What was the real meaning of their pantomime it was impossible to make out, but they amused us exceedingly by their wild gestures and cries.

The three mysterious Haghars still continued to follow us throughout the day, declaring that they had no evil intentions, but were merely poor wayfarers journeying to Aheer. They have made friends with the Tanelkums, with whom they have more points of resemblance than with the Kailouees. In appearance and manners they are remarkable enough. They wear a shield of bullock or rhinoceros hide hanging down on one side of their camels. During our march, it was evidently their desire to show off; for they moved in order of battle as they called it, in a line, the two who had spears holding them bravely up. It was certainly a pretty sight to see them play off this little exercise. But in the evening, after dark, they returned from feeding their camels somewhere in the mountains, and came and bivouacked close to us and our baggage. This alarmed us, and we sent En-Noor to remonstrate with them. After some wrangling, they promised to leave us if we would give them supper. We did so, and got rid of them for the night.

There was some dispute this evening with the servants about pitching our tent. I always find

them ready to escape this trouble when they can. However, it appears that En-Noor recommended us not to pitch our tents, that we may not be known during the night, in the event of these three Haghars having comrades skulking after them, seeking an opportunity to attack us.

21*st*.—We rose an hour before daylight, and journeyed eight hours, passing through a country resembling that of yesterday, and a pleasant valley called Wady Jeenanee, until we arrived at the wells of the same name. They are scooped out of the sand in a stony bed, and amidst rocks. The water is very palatable. It has no natural source, but there is an abundant supply for several months, and even years, after great rains.

To-day we noticed, for the first time on our journey from Tripoli, the recent marks of the fall of a great quantity of rain. It had left after it exactly the same forms on the sandy valley which we see at all times, quite dry, in the more desolated regions of the Sahara. There cannot be a doubt that occasionally an immense quantity of rain falls in every region of this great desert.

The senna plant was picked up again to-day, and the tree called aborah appeared in great numbers in the wady, in a corner of which we encamped.

Although our friends, the three Haghars, promised to leave us for ever if they had a supper, yesterday they appeared again *en route* to chat with their Tanelkum acquaintances. God knows, they

may be honest men — in reality, poor devils obliged to beg their way to Aheer. They wander about here and there. (I have not seen them this evening, five P.M.)

Notwithstanding that the blacks of our caravan (mostly slaves) walked on foot fourteen long, long hours yesterday, they still danced, and sang, and played games in the evening, and kept it up till midnight! How capable are these Africans of bearing up against fatigue and toil! Could we Europeans do as they do? Not even in our own country, and under our own climate.

They afterwards made a collection of small articles of clothing, and other little things. I gave them a handkerchief, with which they were greatly delighted.

We had a perfect Soudan atmosphere to-day. The heavens were surcharged with clouds, and when the sun appeared through them for a few minutes, it was burning, scorching hot. The abundance of herbage and trees in Wady Jeenanee combined with these circumstances to show that we had entered the gates of a new climate.

21*st.**—We started late, seven A. M., and journeyed about six hours, the camels eating nearly all the way, which gave our Tuarick caravan the appearance of a company of Arabs. To-day the herbage and trees increased, in abundance and variety, and

* Here is a day repeated in the journal; but as it is not of much moment, I have made no alteration.—ED.

we saw several pretty wild flowers. We observed many Soudan trees, or trees with tropical aspects. Our route lay through rocky valleys, over a bed of fine granite sand. The rocks were all blackened, forming a gloomy landscape, especially as all the morning the heavens were one impenetrable mass of clouds. The atmosphere felt, at first, damp and suffocating; but at length the wind got up, and we breathed more freely.

## CHAPTER XIV.

Enter the inhabited Districts of Aheer—Hostile Tuaricks—An impudent Demand—The Merchant Waldee—Prepare for Defence—Threatening Appearances—Making Friends with Presents—March—Leave Waldee—Doubtful Visitors—The Camels stolen—The Troop of Assailants draws nigh—Parley—Their Proposition—We are compelled to a Compromise—Character of our Enemies—Sinister Rumours again—Proceed toward Tidek—Wady of Kaltadak—Picturesque Scenery—A Friend from Seloufeeat—Fresh Mob collects to attack us—Conferences—We are to be let go scot-free if we become Muslims—We repose—Another Compromise for Money—Incidents during the Night—Quarrel over the Booty—Enter the Valley of Seloufeeat—Its Soudan Appearance—Nephew of Sultan En-Noor—Haj Bashaw of Seloufeeat—We are still uneasy.

As we advanced, on the 21st, along the plain between the granite rocks—trees and flowers starting up thicker and thicker from the ground to greet our approach—our guides told us that we were at length entering the inhabited districts of the kingdom of Aheer, or Asben, as it is indifferently called. This announcement at once substituted pleasurable for uneasy sensations. We thought no more at all of pursuing robbers, and gave ourselves up to the delight which always attends upon difficulties vanquished. The name of the first district is Taghajeet.

We expected to behold groups of inhabitants coming joyfully to welcome us. Our imaginations had adorned this country almost with the colours of home. It was about one that we crossed the unmarked frontier. Still there were rocks around, their angles softened away by trees; still wild flowers mingled with the herbage on every side; the heavens were clearing overhead, and the sun shed down a warm mantle of rays upon the land; yet there were no signs of life. The silence that reigned, I know not why, introduced ideas of terror into our minds, and we began to gaze anxiously to the right and to the left. We remembered that this region, likewise, was inhabited by Tuaricks, though not of the Haghar tribe. They might be inhospitable, perhaps hostile. All the caravan, by degrees, seemed to join in our uneasiness; and when at length, just before we pitched our tent, the cry arose of "The Tuaricks! the Tuaricks are coming!" it rose as a cry of warning and alarm. Every one snatched up his weapons as a small group approached; and all waited with impatience to learn whether they came as friends or enemies.

Our uneasiness was soon quieted. The newcomers were known to some of our people, the Tanelkums, and soon scraped acquaintance with us. They paid a visit to my tent, and I gave them a number of little things, with which they were very much gratified. There was reason, then, to hope that our first impressions of security were well-

founded, and I began writing my journal as if we had really arrived in a land of peace.

Suddenly a man, mounted on a maharee, brought us news, at first in a friendly way, that an immense number of Tuaricks were pursuing us; and then, throwing off the mask, in their name demanded of our escort that they should deliver us up to them. This demand the Kailouees, of course, rejected with indignation; but the circumstance put our people on the *qui vive*, and we kept up a fire of musketry for two or three hours during the succeeding night.

At sunset, Waldee, the great merchant of Mourzuk, came to the encampment. His caravan was stopping half an hour higher up. He gave us much encouragement, and eloquently recommended us to the care of all our people, the camel-drivers and escort. Waldee has travelled this route fourteen years. He is just the man to do it,—a small spare fellow, with an expression of much intelligence, which he really possesses. He is the most respected of all the merchants on this route.

When he left us, he sent us a present of Aheer dates, which were large and exceedingly well tasted.

22*d.*—We stopped in the valley of Taghajeet all day, waiting for the Haghars, but they did not make their appearance. In the morning early, I distributed powder and shot to about forty of our people. Each had half a cupfull of powder and twelve shots. It was an immense present for them, and they were all greatly rejoiced at the gift. It is extremely

difficult for people to obtain powder and shot in these countries. We made a line of barricades with the boat. Amongst our defenders appeared the three Azgher Tuaricks,* who followed us from Tajetterat, and overtook us above the well of Aisou. We gave them powder and shot, and they swore they would die for us.

In the evening two mounted men came up, and made the same demand of our escort that the single man had made the night before; namely, that they should give us Christians up to forty or fifty Tuaricks, collected from the various districts around. This impudent demand was again rejected.

The opinion of all the caravan now seemed to be, that this was an idle threat of some dozen bandits, and that the people generally would not turn out inimical.

Merchant Waldee came again this evening, and gave us increased encouragement not to be afraid.

The more we saw of this man the better we liked him. He brought for us, also, the favourable news that the Sheikh of Bornou was on good terms with his neighbours, the people of Wadaï and Darfour. I shall endeavour to return *viâ* these countries to the Mediterranean, if possible. Our people fired again to-night. In the evening I presented Boro of Aghadez with a fine burnouse, and his son with

* Those people are sometimes called Haghar, and sometimes Azgher, in the journal. The latter appellation is probably the correct one in this case.—Ed.

a shasheeah and a fateh. I gave a fateh also to one of his relations, who is travelling with him. He was highly pleased with the gift, and expressed his pleasure in many compliments. Of giving gifts there is no end; but this is the time, or never, when they will be useful.

23*d*.—Before we started, another fellow came riding up from the rumoured troop of bandits, and demanded of our escort that they should give us into their hands. Boro remembered his present, and expressed his gratitude by resenting this insolence with a perfect shower of abuse.

We advanced nine hours this day, looking behind us as we moved. Our course lay through a rocky country, and two or three fine valleys, distinguished chiefly by the immense size of the tholukh-trees. In the afternoon a large valley opened, amidst a mountainous region; after traversing which, we pitched tent in a small open space surrounded with hills, with a snug valley of hasheesh near at hand.

When we started in the morning, we bade the merchant Waldee adieu. During the night he had received a courier from Mourzuk, and letters from the Consul and Mustapha Bey to recommend us to him. Waldee said he would write us some letters, and send them after us. He leaves his caravan at Taghajeet, and mounts his maharee for Mourzuk, where he expects to arrive in the course of fourteen days.

I wrote by him to Government, and to my wife.

In the evening, when it was nearly dusk, five mounted men made their appearance, two of them leading six empty camels. We did not like the looks of them, but they gave a tolerable account of themselves.

I treated them to supper—in fact, I am obliged to feed all strangers, as well as a good number of the caravan. Of feeding these people, as of giving them presents, verily there is no end. To travel comfortably in the desert, it would be necessary to possess Fortunatus' purse or Aladdin's lamp.

During the night these strange fellows disappeared, which circumstance naturally aroused our suspicions. About two in the morning the Kailouees, wishing to start early, began to bustle about in the dark, in order to collect their camels. They could not find any of them. Great was the consternation. The Tanelkums instantly ran to their drove, of which three only were missing, and ours also were found to be safe. They have driven the camels off, in order to prevent our progress, and give time to the enemy to come up.

24*th*.—We naturally passed the remainder of the night in the greatest anxiety of mind, feeling sure that a crisis was now approaching. At about six in the morning, four men, mounted on maharees, came riding towards us, and drawing near, boldly summoned our escort to deliver up the Christians, with all their baggage and camels. The insolence of this small

body assured us that they had some force at hand; but we boldly told them to go about their business, as we were resolved to defend ourselves to the last.

Whilst we were parleying with them, a troop of about forty men, mounted on their fleet maharees, and equipped for war with spears, shields, and swords, came trotting rapidly over the hills, hallooing with wild cries, and challenging our caravan to battle. When the first few moments of surprise had subsided, two-thirds of our caravan, armed with matchlocks, pistols, and swords, advanced in a body, and shouted out that they accepted the challenge. This bold movement staggered the assailants, who forthwith began to waver and retire. They had evidently expected to overawe us by boasting. Our people, satisfied with the effect of their manœuvre, retired slowly towards the encampment. Presently a small body of the enemy advanced as a deputation, demanding to parley, and declaring that they did not come to fight against people of their own faith. The remainder pretended to march and countermarch along the hills on either hand, as if to hem us in completely, but kept at a respectful distance. They saw that we were too strong for them, but called out that they would go and fetch more people.

The conferences were now fairly opened, and we found that the hostile troop was composed of a collection of all the Sheikhs of the neighbouring districts, with their followers, and several regular baudits, countenanced by a Shereef Marabout. Our

people understood at once that the affair was far more serious than they had anticipated, and began to be downhearted. They knew that they could not proceed without their camels, and from their expressions and looks I could foresee that the matter at last would have to be ended by a compromise.

The enemy made various propositions, more or less agreeable to our ears. The first was simply that we, as infidels, should be given up to be put to death — an idea which, luckily, nobody seemed to consider proper or feasible. They then insisted that we should pass on no further, but should return by the way we had come — also declined. Next, they demanded that we should become Muslims — a proposition which our people refused even to mention to us. Finally, they coolly asked for half our goods and baggage,—no doubt their ultimate object.

When they found that we would not agree to any of their proposals, but were determined rather to resist by the strong hand, a compromise was agreed upon. We paid them in goods to the value of three hundred and fifty reals, or about fifty pounds sterling, in order to get back our camels and be allowed to proceed. Even then, however, our caravan lost nine animals; so that the Kailouees suffer more even than we do. We were obliged to put up with all this, and were glad enough when the Shereef Marabout at length professed himself satisfied, and volunteered his protection for the future.

A wild and lawless set are these borderers of Aheer. The gathering was evidently a spontaneous one of all the blackguards of the country. Even the marabout complains, that during the expedition he has lost his burnouse, carpet, and fez, whilst he was saying his prayers, pious man! and beseeching for strength to overcome the infidels! He was on his knees, when a fellow of his troop came softly up behind, appropriated his things, mounted his camel, and fled away—"whist," he says, like the wind, and was soon out of sight, and appeared no more. By the way, the three Azghers were frightened, or corrupted, in the morning, and went over to the enemy. They change sides with fortune; and when some shots were fired by the enemy, by way of bravado and to expedite the conferences, one of their muskets was brought into play, and of course my powder! I am happy to reflect, however, that they got none of the booty this time, and have "'filled their minds" for nought.

As soon as we got back our camels we proposed to move on, our people evincing the greatest anxiety to get away from a place where such disagreeable things had happened. We accordingly marched about two hours, the marabouts accompanying us, and then pitched tent for the night. Sinister rumours, however, were still about, like a flight of ill-omened birds, and it was said that another troop of people were collecting further on to intercept our passage to Soudan. During this halt,

grave conferences were held between the Kailouee merchant, En-Noor, and the marabout, on the subject of these fresh reports. It turned out that there were several people in the neighbourhood who were dissatisfied that they had not shared in the booty, and might prove troublesome. About thirty reals' worth of things were accordingly selected for them.

25*th*.—We started before daylight, and advanced about nine hours, pitching tent in the afternoon at three. Our people are in better spirits, anticipating the termination of the journey. However, we are not yet free from cause of alarm. The Tanelkums, our companions, begin to show symptoms of discontent, and in the evening I was obliged to make presents to the whole of them. They have certainly worked hard for us, and suffered much anxiety on our account.

Our course this day lay towards the mountains of Tidek, which form our southern horizon. The country was a perfect desert. There was nothing now to tell that we were near Soudan, except perhaps a few tholukh-trees of gigantic stature. We did not halt upon the track, but, turning aside, sought a fine valley, where there was abundance of hasheesh. Our camels greedily devour the luxuriant *bou rekaba*.

26*th*.—As usual, the caravan was got into marching order before daybreak, and returning to the track we proceeded rapidly. Dawn revealed to us

that we were still watched by the hostile population. Three men, mounted on maharees, trotted along the hills, evidently in observation. We soon got out of the desert country, and entered the fine wady of Kaltadak, rich with tropical vegetation. The huge tholukhs were covered with a multitude of parasitical plants, that hung in festoons or trailed down towards the earth. This valley runs winding round about the group of Tidek mountains, which have long been in view. They say that it abounds in lions, and as we advanced we looked down the long glades that opened on either hand, expecting to see some monarch of the forest stopping to gaze at us as we passed. We discovered, however, only three black ostriches moving slowly along in the distance, —the first I have seen wild in Africa. They appeared like dark moving lumps, the heads and necks not being discernible to the naked eye. Our people did not attempt to chase them; and the gazelles that glanced near at hand were likewise suffered to depart in peace. At noon we reached the well of Anamghur, where we drank some good water. It was scooped out of the sandy, rocky bed of the wady. A group of five asses had been driven down to it to drink.

As we advanced, about noon, a small group appeared a-head. A person of consequence from Seloufeeat, known to our escort, was coming to meet us. He advanced cordially, and told us that he had determined to be our protection. We were

sorry that any such aid was necessary; but it appeared from his report that there were more people collecting to attack the Christians, and get a share of their spoils. In the evening we encamped in an open space clear of the trees, where we could see all around us, and use our arms if necessary. Scarcely were we established when a troop of fifty men came near in a threatening manner, but did not attack us. After dark, they increased to about a hundred. They consisted of the sheikhs of the districts, with their followers and lawless men scraped together from various quarters. Meanwhile our escort, who were anxious for their own safety as well as ours, had sent on to the City of Marabouts, Tintaghoda, and had prevailed on several of these holy men to protect them and us. The night was spent in conference instead of in repose. The hostile Sheikhs told our marabouts that they did not come to harm us, but to oblige us to become Muslims, for no infidel had ever, or ever should, pass through their country. This proposition was at once, as a matter of business and profession, approved of by our protecting marabouts. What priest ever shrunk from the prospect of a conversion?

Matters having come to this point, our escort, camel-drivers and servants, could not but communicate to us the demand made — namely, that we should change our religion or return by the way we had come. This time, likewise, even our own servants prayed that we would accept the proposi-

tion, or seem to accept it, if only for a few days, to deliver ourselves from present danger. My colleagues, and particularly Dr. Barth, indignantly and passionately resisted. For my part, I looked upon the affair with a little more calm, the same thing having occurred to me on a former occasion in these deserts. I told our people that we would pay the tribute imposed by the Mahometan law on infidels, or for our passage through the country, or else that we would take our chance and return. Upon this our servants exclaimed, with tears in their eyes, "To return would be certain death!" There was now nothing left for me to do but to say, with my colleagues, that we would wait patiently for death, but that to change our religion was impossible.

Although, of course, the threats that were made against us could not but produce considerable uneasiness, I always felt pretty sure that the Sheikhs did not exactly mean what they said, and would come at last, as had the others, to a money compromise. Yet, during the absence of our people, who took the message that we were ready to die for the honour of our country and religion, I passed, as did my friends the Germans, a most distressing half hour. Every sound we heard seemed to be that of people approaching to attack us. At length we heard voices through the darkness. Our ambassadors were coming back with the message: "It is arranged, O Consuls, that you shall pay a certain

sum of money!" Children of the desert, you are not the only ones who make a demand for conscience sake, and then compound for cash!

We only afterwards learned how this negotiation was carried on with the enemy. Some dramatic scenes were reported to us by our servants as occurring between our escort and the assailing troop, mixed with marabouts. En-Noor, on returning from us after we had declared that we would die for our religion, drew his sword and cast it on the ground before the people, calling out to the other Kailouees, "Come now, let us all die with the Christians!" On the other hand, the fiercest of the enemy every now and then got up and made as if they would rush at once and spear us in our tents. Then there was reasoning of every description, and tremendous quotations from the Koran. The most humane proposed that we should have ten days' grace to reflect on our situation before we were put to death. Our servants, who behaved well all through this trying business, made a reasonable proposition, that we should be taken to Tintalous to the great Sultan En-Noor, who should decide upon our case. But this did not suit the purpose of these pious propagandists of the Muslim faith, who swore that the book ordered them to slaughter the unbelievers, and at length were graciously pleased to accept the sum of thirty-five pounds sterling in goods!

27*th*.—In the morning we wished to start at

once, and get away from this scene of our second disaster; but we had to stay to select the goods which were to pay for our lives, liberties, and consciences. However, we at length got off; and whilst the bandits were swearing, and griping one another by the throat, and fighting over the booty, we pushed hastily on towards Seloufeeat, which, according to our Tanelkums, is really the first country of Asben. As we entered the valley our people kept up a running fire, to alarm any one who might feel disposed to attack us. We had been so much accustomed to inhospitality and robbers of late, that we confidently expected further difficulties as soon as we met with the inhabitants.

After a march of four hours we arrived, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Seloufeeat. The valley has quite a Soudan appearance, but solely on account of the presence of the doom palm. There are, however, a considerable number of other trees, particularly the souak, the branches of which are eaten voraciously by our camels. It has beautiful green foliage, and is very bushy and spreading. Wheat, and ghaseb, and other grain are grown in the valley, where there is abundance of good water. The wells are like those of Ghadamez,—that is to say, an upright beam with a long cross-pole, having a stone at one end and a rope and bucket at the other, serves to bring up the water.

We found here a caravan about to proceed direct to Mourzuk, and I seized the opportunity to

write by it to Government and to my wife. During the night some mischievous people again drove away all the camels of the Kailouees, as well as ours. This disturbed us much, and we anticipated fresh extortion and plunder; but we were assured that we had now nothing serious to apprehend.

28*th*.—We stopped here all day to get back our camels. The caravan was delayed, and I wrote a detailed account of our two affairs to Government.

A nephew of Sultan En-Noor came to Seloufeeat this morning, having heard, probably, of our arrival. By him I wrote to En-Noor, from whom we expect an answer to-morrow.

In the evening eleven camels of the Kailouees were still missing, and six of ours. Nevertheless, our people determined to go on next morning. I felt much discouraged this evening. A succession of bad affairs was constantly contradicting the assurances of our escort and their friends; the people of Seloufeeat were also excessively troublesome: there seemed no one in the place having authority. At last, near sunset, came forward a certain Haj Bashaw, declaring that we had all been too badly treated, and he would obtain for us redress. This man has considerable wealth, and is in constant communication with Mourzuk, where he sends numbers of slaves, and possesses property. He probably began to quake for his property in Mourzuk, fearing the Turks would make reprisals. I went to bed with the assurance of this man that he would get back for

us our camels; nevertheless, having been deceived a thousand times, I had my misgivings. Yet I did not forget we had twice been delivered out of the hands of bandits by our escort and friends, so that we ought not to despair of seeing a brighter and a quieter time. After midnight I had a few hours of refreshing sleep.

## CHAPTER XV.

Leave Seloufeeat — "City of Marabouts" — Fair Promises — People of Aheer — Aspect of the Country — Extraordinary Reports — A Flying Saint — Prophecies — A Present — Expense of our forced Passage — Hopes — Fears — The Marabouts — Geology — The coming down of the Wady — Inundation — Restoration of our Camels — Maharees from En-Noor — El-Fadeea — Arab Tuaricks — Maghata — Picturesque Wady — Rainy Season — Another Flood — Dangerous Position — Kailouees and Blacks — The Escort arrives — The Marabout Population — Reported Brigands — The Walad Suleiman — Pleasant Valley — Escort leave us — Difficulty of satisfying them — Robbery — Proceed to Tintalous — Encampment — The Sultan — A Speech — We wait in vain for Supper — Want of Food.

*Sept.* 29*th.*—I rose early, and heard the good news that the camels missing in the first affair were found and brought to our people. This filled everybody with good spirits, and we got off as soon as we could from Seloufeeat. We were obliged to leave the boat in the charge of a faithful inhabitant, to fetch as soon as we arrived at Tintaghoda. Before starting, Haj Bashaw made Yusuf write a letter in his name to Mourzuk, to the Bashaw Mustapha and Makersee, declaring that he had not had any news of us or

our coming, but that now we should be conducted safely up to the country of En-Noor. This is the only man who seems to have any authority in Seloufeeat: the marabouts could do little before he came forward; the people live in the wildest state of lawless independence.

In the morning before starting, the Sfaxee and Yusuf came up to me and said, "All up to now was lies; but henceforth all is truth. You have nothing more to fear—there is nothing now but good." This speech I most devoutly devoured, and things certainly wore a brighter aspect this morning. But we now anxiously wait news from En-Noor.

We moved up the valley of Seloufeeat, our spirits buoyant and mounting high, whilst the air of the morning was soft and fresh, not unlike that of Italy. After two hours we arrived at the City of Marabouts, or Tintaghoda.

There is considerable variety in the physiognomy of the people of Aheer, whom we have already seen; but in general, they have agreeable countenances: and as to stature, many of them are very tall, though apparently not very robust. Some are of light olive complexion, with straight noses and thin lips; but others, indeed the great number, approximate to the negro in feature.

This portion of Aheer is still poor in provisions. Indeed, all these districts are strictly Saharan. There are fine fertile valleys, but between them are rocks and complete deserts; the trees, which some-

what change from the aspect of those in Central Sahara, are the immensely large tholukhs, some of them covered with parasitical plants; the doom palm, and the souak tree. I have also seen the ethel hereabouts.

The houses of Seloufeeat and Tintaghoda have, however, a true African aspect, being thatched with leaves of the doom palm. Some of them are sheds, with a roof supported by four poles, under which the people repose in the shade by day and by night shelter themselves from noxious vapours.

The most extraordinary reports are beginning to circulate about us and our affairs. It has been confidently spread about that the three Azgher, who followed us from Tajetterat, had a letter in their possession, which they were to show to all the population beyond the Ghât territory, written by Khanouhen, to the effect that we were to be murdered as soon as we got beyond that territory, by whomsoever the attempt might be made.

Another report is, that the sixty maharees, said to have been in pursuit of us at Taghajeet, did actually arrive at that district, but finding us too far ahead for them they returned; they came by the way of Tuat. These Haghars were to have fallen upon us during the night, and murdered all of us, even the Tanelkums, except Oud-el-Khair and two others. There is a route which leads direct to Tuat from Taghajeet, and also another from Aisou to Tuat.

With regard to the marabouts, they seem quiet enough. It would appear there is an enormous fellow amongst them, who every year, during one night, flies to Mekka and back again.

They report to the people that, insomuch as we are recommended by the great Sultan of the Turks, Abd-el-Majeed, by the Pasha of Tripoli, and all his marabouts, by the Pasha and great marabouts of Mourzuk, by all the big and mighty people of Ghât and the Haghars, but more especially as they have found our names written in their books, and that we were to come to them and visit their holy city,—with a thousand other such reasons—they (the marabouts) have determined to receive us with open arms. The marabouts of all countries pretend to find events written plainly, or shadowed forth, in their books.

After giving away about a hundred and fifty pounds sterling, the greatest part, however, forced gifts, we have received our first present in Aheer, viz. two melons, some onions, and a small quantity of wheat this evening, from Haj Bashaw, the influential man of Seloufeeat, already mentioned. There is still a drawback in this, for the giver knew the father of Yusuf, and was anxious to show favour to his son, my interpreter. But the fact must be recorded as something wonderful.

The people of our caravan, escort and camel-drivers, offer us nothing: to them it would appear a sin to give anything to a Christian. Such are the

people we travel with. In regard to the matter of presents, God give me patience with them.

30*th*.—There is no answer from En-Noor, nor are our camels forthcoming; which things naturally cause us anxiety. But let us hope for the best, and pray to God to deliver us from all our misfortunes.

We wait here to-day to see the results, and proceed to-morrow. This morning I made the account of the forced passage of the expedition from Taghajeet to this place (Marabouteen). It amounts to the enormous sum of nine hundred mahboubs—more than one hundred and fifty pounds sterling! I do not know what Government will think of it; but the expenditure incurred was certainly to save our lives.

I gave this morning more presents to our servants, and lectured them on their duties. All things considered, they have behaved very well. When they saw the great quantity of goods given away, or forced from us by strangers, they naturally began to think what there would be left for them, who always remained with us, and worked for us.

The being chief of an expedition of this kind is certainly no sinecure; but I am sure that no one who has not occupied a similar post can conceive the anxieties and disquietudes under which I have laboured during all these difficult days. Almost ever since our departure from Ghât we have been in fear, either for our lives or our property. Danger has ever hung hovering over us, sometimes averted, sometimes seeming to be turned into smoke; but

within this week the strokes of ill fortune have fallen upon us with increasing fury. We try to persuade ourselves that there is now nothing more to fear, and every one joins in nursing what may be a delusion.

The marabouts indulge the vain hope that, through the influence of the great En-Noor of Tintalous, we may yet become Muslims. It would appear that the whole of the inhabitants of the village of Tintaghoda are marabouts, and so the race of saints is propagated from generation to generation. Generally, the children of the marabouts are good-looking. It is said that some of the mischievous boys were the parties who drove off our cattle.

In spite of all the sanctity of this place, and its reputation that it is free from theft, En-Noor of our escort told us yesterday evening to watch well during the night, that our things might not be stolen.

We Christians cannot trust our things here. The Sfaxee, however, leaves his goods in the place, and will go with us to-morrow. Tintaghoda may be a safe dépôt for Muslims, not for Christians.

I have omitted to notice in its proper place, but may record here, that one of the free black females was lost for a couple of days in the desert, and recovered after the disaster.

Whatever we have yet seen of Aheer in a geological point of view, shows that it is essentially a region

of granite rocks, between which are a series of fine valleys, running one into another. The granite is in great varieties; there are four specimens of granite marble; some pieces of pure limestone marble have also been collected; the granite rocks are blackened by the sun and atmosphere, and wear the appearance of basalt.

About four o'clock this afternoon there was a cry in the encampment—not that the Haghar were coming—not that another troop of robbers and wild people were advancing upon us to attack us; but the cry was, "*El wady jaee!*" "The wady is coming!" Going out to look, I saw a broad white sheet of foam advancing from the south between the trees of the valley. In ten minutes after a river of water came pouring along, and spread all around us, converting the place of our encampment into an isle of the valley. The current in its deepest part was very powerful, capable of carrying away sheep and cattle, and of uprooting trees. This is one of the most interesting phenomena I have witnessed during my present tour in Africa. The scene, indeed, was perfectly African. Rain had been observed falling in the south; black clouds and darkness covered that zone of the heavens; and an hour afterwards came pouring down this river of water into the dry, parched-up valley. This incident of Wady Tintaghoda explains the Scriptural phrase, "rivers of waters;" for here indeed was a river of water appearing in an instant, and almost

without notice. It is not, however, necessary to come to the frontiers of Soudan to witness phenomena of this nature. Even in Morocco similar sudden floodings occur every rainy season.

We had been some time employed in watching this singular scene, when another cry was heard. This was the announcement that our camels were coming,—certainly a piece of good news that we had been anxiously expecting; but it had often been given before, and after the first excitement we began to feel the sickness of disappointment. However, four of our camels were in reality brought in; there yet remain out two of ours and three belonging to the Kailouees. However, our spirits begin now really to revive. We learn that this act of restitution is attributable to the marabouts.

I went to bed on receiving this news; but I had not rested long before Dr. Barth called out, "Have you heard what has happened? Twenty-eight mahárees are arrived from En-Noor." On further inquiries, I learned that the Sultan had sent us an escort of twenty men mounted, and eight on foot; but rain having fallen and still continuing to fall, and the fact of our being surrounded by water, prevented the approach of these troops to the encampment. The intelligence of their arrival was brought by a man well known to the Tanelkums. In the afternoon we had heard that En-Noor had received a confused account of our two encounters with the armed bands, and that we had been destroyed by

them, or nearly so, but had not yet received our courier. This circumstance tranquillised us. We had been anxiously expecting news from En-Noor. The people always speak of maharees, and not of mounted men; so that twenty maharees are twenty men mounted on maharees. It rained this evening and during the night: every thing was damp around us. We now begin to feel, indeed, that we are in a humid atmosphere.

31*st*.—I rose early, but it rained hard, and everybody kept within tent. I am much delighted with my double Bornou tent, for, although it is nothing but a species of gauze cotton-work, it still keeps out the rain.

We are collecting the names and qualities of the chief among our assailants, as we shall have to make a formal complaint against them, not only in order to obtain restitution for our goods, but for the sake of any future travellers. The people who first attacked us are called El-Fadeea, or El-Fadayan, and are styled by Yusuf *Arab* Tuaricks, or Tuaricks living in tents. This tribe was joined by bandits and a few adventurers from all the surrounding districts.

The people of the second attack are called Aghazar: these are also Arab Tuaricks, or people living in tents. They were joined by people from Seloufeeat, Tintaghoda, and all the neighbouring places.

The people appear to have gathered all confusedly

together, headed by their chiefs and countenanced by the marabouts, to destroy the Infidels who were come to pollute their country; but, undoubtedly, the major part were excited against us by the hope of plunder.

All the inhabitants of Ghanet* are Maghata, or descendants of the children of the Tuaricks, Haghar and Azgher, which were born to them by their slaves. It is these Maghata who were said to be in pursuit of us under Sidi Jafel. There are many of the same people in the open desert, for the most part bandits, or at least inclined to that way of life. They levy contributions on the caravans, and on the settled people when they can venture.

The valley, which embraces Seloufeeat and Tintaghoda, is said to extend, by a series of connexions, as far as Zinder,—probably a fanciful connexion of the people. It is a most picturesque wady, lined with black granite rocks, some rising high into castellated peaks on the south-east, with a lower range of hills on the north-west. It is not above half a mile wide in its mean breadth; herbage does not abound over all its bed, but trees cover its surface. The water is mostly rain water; here and there, however, springs are found. All the water is good, and copious in supply.

If we may judge from what we have seen of the marks of late rains in these districts, and the

* This is the oasis of Janet, mentioned previously.—Ed.

freshness of the herbage, the rainy season is just beginning in Aheer. There is not yet very abundant herbage, but it will soon greatly increase.

The rain continues to pour in torrents, the boundary mountains on either hand are scarcely visible, and a watery vapour prevents us from tracing the course of the valley. We have hitherto had to struggle against mental anxieties, against fatigues, heat, drought, and thirst: we have now to contend with rain and with floods. Everything is becoming awfully damp, and everybody looks awfully dismal. I can see, from the lugubrious countenances of the Kailouees and the blacks, that the rainy season is their real winter. They go shivering about, and seem as if they were half drowned. Our Bornou gauze-cotton tent still bears up well, however, and keeps out the rain.

I was engaged in admiring the tent, and in reflecting on the changed region into which we had entered — a region of luxuriant vegetation and watery atmosphere — when there was again a wild holloa of "The floods are pouring down upon us! The wady is coming!" Our people, however, contented themselves at first with shouting, and made no preparations for the advancing flood; but in a short time they found it necessary to bestir themselves, and began to make dams and dykes, with the aid of sticks and hatches. These expedients proved of no avail. The waters swelled wildly up, higher and higher, and sheets of foaming waves came

whirling in amongst us. I called out to Yusuf to select some high ground at once, to which our goods might be conveyed. He calmly replied, "The people still stay where they are;" implying that there was no danger, that the inundation would subside like the former one, and that we should escape with a wetting. Not so, however. All the low parts of the valley were already covered with a turbid stream, that broke fiercely round the trunks of the trees; and at length the mounting tide threatened our tent. Yusuf then made a little child's dam around, as if in sport; but in a few minutes this was swept away, and we found ourselves standing in the water.

It was now absolutely necessary to move; and our people, who seemed until then to have been paralysed by the humidity, as we in northern climates sometimes are with cold, began to bestir themselves, and to transfer our tents and baggage to a piece of ground which rose considerably above the level of the valley, and was surrounded with rushing waters. The remainder of the caravan imitated us, and we soon saw them all occupying the summits of little islands, whither the camels, at least such as did not instinctively take refuge there themselves, were also driven. This was a good opportunity of seeing a specimen of African character. The Kailouees made no preparation for the deluge until the last moment, and then seemed absolutely to make the worst possible. They rolled

their bales of dry goods in the water as if they were so many logs of wood, although by lifting them up a little all might have at first been saved quite dry. Meanwhile the black servants were dancing, singing, and rolling about in the waters, as if some sudden blessing had overtaken them.*

The water still continued to rise, and to foam over the margin of the island. We were compelled by degrees to retreat towards the centre, and as there was no sign of abatement, and as the whole valley had become one rushing river, covered with floating trees,—some shooting singly along, others entangled into rafts or floating islands, I began to entertain serious misgivings. Never was there a more perfect picture of a deluge! It was the Biblical deluge in miniature: and I calculated with intense interest how many inches additional rise would utterly destroy our goods, and how many inches more peril our lives. The most gloomy forebodings troubled me. I had always looked forward to Aheer as a haven of safety, and instead thereof it had proved to be a place of per-

* The black people of Central Africa, whose character and opinions we do not yet understand, seem to take peculiar delight in those very natural phenomena which civilised nations regard as disastrous. Among other instances, I have seen an old negress, usually gloomy and taciturn, quite intoxicated by an earthquake. Whilst others were thinking of their safety, she ran about the courtyard on her hands and feet, rolling over, laughing and whooping, as if she were a devil and this was news from the infernal regions.—Ed.

secution. When men had ceased to fight against us, nature began. I thought I could hear the fanatical people of Tintaghoda say one to the other, "Ah! they saved their lives by money, but now God comes in to punish and destroy them." Yet whilst I stood apart and tortured myself in this wise, our people, children of the day, who take no thought for the morrow, satisfied that the waves had not yet reached them, were full of merriment and laughter, and seemed to mock the flood, that still rose and rose, bending the largest trees, sweeping away the brushwood, and roaring angrily around the margin of the islands. Perhaps they knew that their lives, at least, were safe; whilst I reflected that, if even we could swim to shore, leaving our property to the wild mercies of the waves, we should land in an enemy's country, without the means of satisfying the cupidity of the first bandit who chose to attack us, and would most probably soon be sacrificed.

I was anxiously watching the progress of the inundation when at last it seemed to be checked, and no longer to rise. God had not, then, abandoned us, and we were not driven from the fire to the waters to perish! The flood remained stationary for awhile, still rolling along the valley, which it seemed to fill from side to side; then we noticed a slight decrease, then a progressive and rapid one: hope buoyed up our spirits, and we thanked the Almighty for our deliverance. As I

have mentioned, I have seen floods before, but never one on so grand a scale as this, which was truly African in its magnitude and character.

As if Providence were now resolved to visit us with marked favour, just at the moment when the waters began visibly to decrease, and patches of land to appear here and there, the escort sent by Sultan En-Noor came riding over the neighbouring heights. Our people discovered them, and shouted, "See, the Kailouees! the Kailouees!"

The waters rose above the general surface of the wady full two feet and a-half. Had this deluge come during the night we should scarcely have saved ourselves; or, at any rate, the greater part of our property and our camels must have perished. The power of such a body of water rushing along is tremendous. A great number of houses of Tintaghoda were carried away, and the inhabitants declared that they never remembered such an occurrence to have happened before. I can well believe them, otherwise the site of the town would have been changed for higher ground. Trees numberless were uprooted, and brought down by the mighty current, which must have considerably altered the appearance of the valley. We could already see that the earth was ploughed up in all directions; and when the inundation was at its height, serious fears were entertained lest the island on which we stood should itself be swept from under our feet.

When the waters had subsided a little the nephew of En-Noor came to us from the town, to see our situation. He then went to meet the Maharees which had arrived from his uncle, and soon sent to tell us that all was right, that this party came purposely to afford us protection, and that it included the sons of En-Noor, their nephews, and a son-in-law, besides many household servants; in all, thirty-one men mounted, and the rest on foot.

In the evening we moved out of the valley, and encamped on the high ground. The rain continued to incommode us. The things of the Germans were all wet—I managed to keep mine dry; but our sense of security now kept up our spirits.

Towards the evening the whole male population came out of the town to see the ravages of water, and learn how we fared. There might be fifty persons, men and boys. These marabouts pretend that, when they first saw the escort of En-Noor, they thought it was an enemy come to attack us whilst isolated by the floods of rain.

They said there were some hundred bandits, and other lawless men collected behind the rocks, waiting for us, but on seeing the escort of En-Noor they had retired by small numbers. Certainly there may have been some twenty or thirty such people, and, undoubtedly, the escort of En-Noor produced a salutary effect upon these brigands, as well as upon the holy maraboutee population who drove away our camels.

When at the Marabouteen, as Tintaghoda is called, a very fine gold-embroidered waistcoat was brought by the escort of En-Noor to me, to ask what it was worth. I guessed about two hundred reals; Yusúf thought the same. It appeared that this waistcoat was the property of Abd-el-Galeel, and was taken as plunder during the last expedition of the Kailouees against the Walad Suleiman. There are several slaves also at Seloufeeat, who once were the property of these Arabs. According to the report of the Kailouees they have destroyed all the Walad Suleiman,—killed them every one. They went against the Arabs ten thousand strong; some of the enemy, however, are said to have died of hunger. It is, besides, reported that the people of Bornou assisted in their destruction. Abd-el-Galeel himself is rumoured to have been killed. Evidently many of the unfortunate Arabs have been surprised, and many of them slaughtered; but I cannot believe in their total annihilation. We shall be better informed at Zinder and Kuka.

*Oct.* 1*st.*—We started late, on account of our things being all wet. The morning was as favourable for drying as the day before had been for wetting, there being a high wind with sunshine. We journeyed on five hours and a-half, and encamped near some pools of water. A cascade during rainy weather shoots down from the highest tops of the rocky mountains.

Before us was a pleasant valley, wherein were

the ruins of huts that had been carried away by the waters. Ferajee invited me to visit the Water with him, and I went. In this neighbourhood the rocky heights assumed their boldest forms, many of the peaks being considerably elevated : all granite.

Some people were heard in the evening, when dark, and we fired several shots. The Tanelkums had seen men skulking behind the rocks during our short march.

*2d.* — We rose early, and made a march of eight hours and a-half: country as yesterday. Our Kailouee escort left us at noon, to go to Aghooou and Janazaret, or Zanairas, their homes. I must write the characters of En-Noor, Deedee, and Ferajee hereafter. They are pretty well fixed in my memory. These individuals are amongst the number of persons who " turned out," to use the vulgar expression, better than we anticipated from their first transactions with us.

On encamping, Mohammed, the son-in-law of En-Noor, came to my tent, and told Yusuf that we must now pay for our escort, as we were within a few hours of Tintalous, and did not require it more ; also that the people wished to go to their homes, for they had been collected from various parts of the country. I must observe, that, considering the time that elapsed between the departure of the courier from Seloufeeat and the arrival of the escort at Tintaghoda, these people had been collected

very quickly, which showed En-Noor to be a man of business and authority.

I expected we should have some trouble to satisfy thirty-one people. Yusuf, aided by the Tanelkums, sorted out about eighty-seven reals' worth of goods. This was offered as sufficient, but did not content even the chief persons, much less the smaller gentlemen. We then added another burnouse, and other things, making up about one hundred reals. This the chiefs accepted; but not so the little men. They stormed and swore; and some of them even ran to seize our bales of goods. However, whatever we had given we should have had the same results, and we must expect similar quarrels all through Africa until our journey's end. I observed, at last, that many took their portions and retired, and I felt confident that all would finish without violence being done us.

When I had been in bed two hours, half-sleeping and half-waking, I turned round my head, and saw my tent full of people. I had not heard them come in. They were the Germans, Yusuf, Mohammed Tunisee, and other people, They were all busy examining the scattered contents of a bale of goods. I asked what was the matter, and was told briefly that some of the *canaille* of our escort had carried away a bale of Dr. Barth's goods, but that the chief had made them restore the greater part of the spoil. In the first moments I could not help laughing. It was certainly comical to be robbed by one's

own escort. We had now thirty-one chaouches for two whom we obtained in Tripoli. On this I went to sleep.

3*d*.— Early in the morning Mohammed En-Noor paid me a visit, and promised me that all the things should be restored—not the smallest thing should be lost.

I looked about, and saw that the greater number of our escort had disappeared during the night, and gone to their homes. We now commenced our last stage to Tintalous. Mounted on my camel, I could not help reflecting that we were tormented to the very doors of the dwelling of En-Noor, that the people seemed determined we should have no rest till we arrived there. Afterwards, peradventure, we may find a little repose; but who can tell?

The rain incommoded us as we advanced. However, in two hours we arrived at the little village of Asărá, where half-a-dozen inhabitants greeted us with a stare; and an hour afterwards entered the broad and spacious valley of Tintalous, firing a salute as we did so, in compliment to the inhabitants.

We had heard much of the great city of Tintalous; and I confess that, though accustomed to desert exaggerations, my mind had dwelt upon this place so long, that I expected a much more imposing sight than that which presented itself. This mighty capital consisted of a mass of houses and huts, which we calculated to be no more than a

hundred and fifty in number, situated in the middle of the valley, with trees here and there interspersed. It was nothing but a large village. Still, as the termination of our journey for the present, and as bearing a name which has been hitherto thrown down at haphazard anywhere towards the centre of the southern Sahara, we hailed it with delight. Both huts and houses wore a truly Soudan character, and I felt that to a certain extent the object of the Mission was already accomplished.

Mohammed En-Noor chose us out a good place for an encampment, upon some sand-hills overlooking the entire country. When we had pitched tent, Mr. Yusuf Moknee was despatched to carry our compliments to the great man of the town, Sultan En-Noor. This distinguished personage he found laid up with rheumatism, and unable to receive us as we desired. However, he expressed a wish to see Dr. Overweg in his character of medical man, and made a long harangue to Yusuf, the substance of which was, that inasmuch as we had come from Constantinople,* from Tripoli, from Fezzan, from Ghât, in peace and safety, why should he think of eating us up and destroying us, like the people of Taghajeet and others?—"No; let the Christians rest in peace. I will now protect them—let them not fear. If I had not been ill, I would have come myself, and fetched them from Taghajeet, and no one should have touched them. Now, I will take

* Where he got this news I cannot tell.

them myself to Zinder, or send my sons with them. They shall be protected on their journey to Bornou and Soudan."

I shall only observe on this, that I do not think Sultan En-Noor could have brought us clear through the countries of Taghajeet and Tidek. We might have paid something less, but we must have paid. However, we felt glad on hearing the report of this speech, and waited patiently for the evening supper of the great man; but it did not come, to our great disappointment. The Tanelkums said that this was a kind of home for them, and that En-Noor always sent them a supper on the evening of their arrival. When I saw these good people supperless, I considered that En-Noor would not give one supper without the other, and was not prepared for both.

We felt our case to be rather hard, especially the Germans; for they had nothing of their own to eat but dry kuskusou and onions. I was a little better off. We could get nothing from the town during the day, not even a fowl or eggs, nor even a bit of cheese.

Nevertheless, we had been told that everything was abundant in this place. It appears all the sheep are at a distance, out to graze; as for bullocks, there are none. Dr. Overweg drew out his bottle of port wine, and we three Europeans soon made an end of that, and retired for the night in pretty good spirits.

Dr. Overweg and Yusuf calculated the number of people who were reported to be in pursuit of us from Tajetterat to the Marabouteen, at three hundred and sixty. The passage of the expedition from Tajetterat to Tintalous has cost the Government about one hundred and fifty pounds sterling, at the least. I cannot get over this. However, let us raise our hearts in thankfulness to Almighty Providence, who still watches over us, preserves our health, and saves us from destruction.

## CHAPTER XVI.

Promises of the Sultan—Yellow-painted Women—Presents—Anecdotes —Prepare to visit En-Noor—Our Reception—Dialogue—Seeming Liberality of the Sultan—Greediness of his People—No Provisions to be got — Fat Women — Nephew of the Sultan — Tanelkum Beggars — Weather — A Divorced Lady — Aheer Money — Our Camels again stolen — Account of the Tanelkums — Huckster Women—Aheer Landscape—Various Causes of Annoyance—No News of the Camels — Anecdote of my Servants — Storms — Revolution in the Desert—Name of the Country—Dr. Overweg —Money and Tin—Saharan Signs—Habits of the Rain—Burial of a Woman — Demands of Es-Sfaxee — Salt-cakes of Bilma — People of Tintalous — Wild Animals— List of Towns and Villages —Population of Aheer and Ghât.

*Oct. 4th.*—This morning I sent Yusuf with our recommendations to En-Noor. He returned in the best possible humour, repeating that the Sultan was determined to protect us, and see us safe to Soudan and Bornou.

A freed black came into my tent, played on his one-stringed fiddle, and sang an extempore song for the protection of the Consul. I gave him a handkerchief. It appears that he is from Tunis.

Yesterday, some specimens of the women of the lower classes of this town came to our encampment.

I was astonished to see them such barbarians as to daub their faces with yellow ochre. I did not expect this in the Mahommedan country of Aheer. They had a little ghaseb, a few onions, and other little things to barter. It is the most difficult thing in the world to deal with them; and it requires as long to exchange things of the value of a penny, as for two London merchants to agree about merchandise of the value of a hundred thousand pounds!

When I had paid the En-Noor escort, I made a present to Yusuf and Saïd. To the former I gave a fine burnouse (value thirty-four mahboubs), and told him I did so as a compensation for the extraordinary difficulties which we had encountered on the road from Ghât to Aheer, but that I could not write to Government for a present for him unless we could make some treaties with the inhabitants and princes of Central Africa. To Saïd I gave a veneese and a lecture. Our servants have not behaved so well as they ought to have done, considering that they are treated so much better than the servants of Muslims.

Anecdotes of our late adventures are still in circulation amongst us, and I have learned some new ones to-day. The *naïveté* of one of them is extreme; but I can do more than allude to it. One of our party transgressed a custom which the Mahommedans have absurdly made obligatory. Great indignation was excited, even amongst the escort sent for our protection by En-Noor; and one of them ex-

claimed: "If he do the same thing again, and do not follow the way of us Muslims, I will send an arrow through him."

During the night of the second affair, Oud-el-Khair used this nice argument: "What will be gained if you do kill these three Christians? There are plenty more in the English country!" Many topics of a similar character were resorted to.

Some of the Tanelkums leave us to-day. We have to pay them two reals a camel-load for bringing us from Tintaghoda to Tintalous. We have hired of them eleven camels in all. The original agreement was to carry our goods and baggage from Mourzuk to Tintaghoda, for which we paid dear.

Having heard that the great En-Noor would receive me to-day or to-morrow, as I pleased, I determined at once to see him, and made ready the presents for his highness. We had some difficulty in making the selection. At length we amassed a variety of things, of the value of one hundred and twenty-two mahboubs prime cost, or about fifty-two reals value here.

At the Asar (or 3 P.M.) I dressed, and went off to see the great man, accompanied by my German colleagues. On entering the village, I at once recognised in a long mud-shed the Sultan's palace. It seemed, indeed, a palace compared with the circular hasheesh huts by which it was surrounded; and in that direction, accordingly, we bent our steps. On

gaining admission, we found the mighty potentate half-dozing on his couch. He woke up as we entered, and sitting upon his hams, politely excused himself for being found *en déshabille*. To remedy this state of things as much as possible, he immediately wound round his head a black band or turban; and having thus improved his toilet, bade us sit down. I took my place very near him, and observed his appearance with some interest. He was a venerable-looking black, but, like most of the Kailouees, had something of an European cast of features. They say he is about seventy-eight years old, and manifestly suffers the infirmities of that great age.

The dialogue was begun by the Sultan asking us how we were in health, and whether we had not now more quiet than down on the road? Then he added, that he was himself very poorly, but that at this season of the year this was nothing uncommon. Being in a garrulous mood, he allowed us little time to reply, and went on with a string of compliments. Of the state of his own country he said, "There is now a general fermentation throughout all the districts of Aheer. The people have thrown off the yoke of their sultans or magistrates, and the roads are infested with bands of robbers." In fact, it would appear that the inhabitants of this out-of-the way kingdom have just fallen into the crisis of a revolution. What grievances brought about this state of things we have not yet learned; but, un-

fortunately for us, we have arrived at a most insecure season.

Of the people of his own district the Sultan said, "You have nothing to fear from them, except that thieves may come in the night. Beware of them; and fall upon any one who may come near your tents after dark. There may be people who will slink from the neighbouring towns to rob you; take care and watch during the night." Upon this I asked him for a couple of servants as guards, but he replied that it was not necessary.

Of the Tanelkums he observed: "It will be better when they are gone, for many strangers come to them, known neither to you nor to me; and they may rob you." This was an excellent observation, for on the road I always found that the Haghar strangers, the bandits, and all the idle, low characters, who might follow the caravan, never failed to make friends with our Tanelkums, and thus gained a footing to carry on their treacherous designs.

The greater part of the interview was thus occupied by a little oration on the part of this respectable Sultan, who wound up by saying that he hoped, if it pleased God, that we should now enjoy some repose, and afterwards be conducted safely to Zinder and Soudan.

Observing that the dialogue was flagging, I caused the presents we had brought with us to be laid out. The Sultan examined all the articles

carefully and quietly, but said not a word. Then his son-in-law informed us aside that it was now time to retire. We did so with many compliments, trusting that our visit had produced a favourable impression. I was very anxious to know what was thought of the present,—the largest we have yet given, much larger than what was received by either Hateetah or Wataitee. I sent two of my servants about to pick up the news in town. I was not disappointed; I hoped to please his highness, and succeeded. He was greatly delighted; and, moreover, displayed immense generosity for an African. Immediately we had retired he called together all the great people of the town, and thus addressed them: "See the fine present these Christians have brought me. I shall, however, only take a blue burnouse for myself. The rest I give to you. Take all else." The notables were greatly pleased at being called in to share in the gifts, and exclaimed, "The Consul is a fine man; a man of a large heart." So far, so good. But some of the lesser men were heard to say, "Ah! now the Christians are in peace, and yet they give us nothing. How much did they give away, and yet get no rest!" Sure enough; but having been thus forcedly generous, we had now scarcely anything left to give. It would require a thousand camel-loads to satisfy all the tribes and people in this route, even if their exigencies did not rise in proportion to our wealth.

We have not yet been able to procure any provisions in Tintalous. After a journey of two months, during which we have been obliged to feed the whole caravan, Kailouees and Tanelkums, to say nothing of the robbers and bandits, who were pleased to levy this kind of tribute upon us, we arrive at a friendly town, and can find nothing to eat! This is really too bad. Fortunately, I put away three bottles of olive oil in the spirit-boxes. With these and my little macaroni I may manage, perhaps, to subsist until provisions can be found. But my servants have finished their last *hemsa*, and the Germans have nothing left. Our last resource is our biscuits, which I am sorry we are obliged to eat in this early part of our journey. This supply of biscuits has certainly cost us much in carriage—many hard dollars; but nevertheless we have found it excellent for our health, and it now promises to save us from starvation. We had heard contradictory reports on the road; some people saying we should find everything in Aheer, and others nothing. The latter prophecy seems likely to turn out true.

There is not much herbage about where we are, so we are obliged to send away the camels some distance to feed. It appears to be only the beginning of the rainy season in Tintalous. We have passed through much finer districts in Aheer than this; *e. g.* that of Taghajeet, where we observed fat women and fat sheep! But we have not

yet seen the enormously fat women that Mr. Gagliuffi described. This, of course, would always be difficult for us, except in our capacities as physicians. Dr. Overweg has the best chance of this piece of good luck.

*5th.*—We are much troubled with a nephew of En-Noor, the same that acted as the courier from Seloufeeat to Tintalous. We gave him a white burnouse, and he is worrying Yusuf to let him have a finer and better one. This individual has given us more trouble than anything else in Tintalous. Little things here, as elsewhere, prove more annoying than great things. To set matters straight, we have offered him a better burnouse, but he is not yet content.

The Tanelkums are also very troublesome. I always saw that we must beware of them, for they will never let us rest, if they can help it, whilst they are with us. Beg, beg, beg; this alone describes their conduct towards us.

All the people we have had about us seem to have considered us their lawful prey, and seek to gain their ends, if not by violence, at least by continual importunities: still it must be acknowledged that the Tanelkums rendered us considerable service on the road. But, even without this claim, they would, no doubt, have still pursued the same system of eternal begging.

This day and yesterday we had thunder, light-

ning, and much rain. The sky was covered with clouds, yet the thermometer rose at half-past three in the afternoon to 82° in our tent. I walked a little before the tent early this morning, to keep up my bodily vigour. I had a little internal pain yesterday. If I suffer in Africa from disease, it will most probably be from dysentery. God grant that I may escape, and be grateful for his mercy!

Sultan En-Noor yesterday observed, respecting the passage of Christians through these countries, "that after a short time the feelings of the people would subside, and nothing more be thought of us." This may be; but it will require the passage of many Christians before the tendency to fanaticism is sufficiently curbed to render the road safe for them.

I mentioned in my diary at Mourzuk, that one of our blacks had exercised the privilege of divorce with respect to his wife. This lady did not leave the caravan, but has since passed from tent to tent, as the caprice of fortune carried her. She was first taken up by Sakonteroua; then by En-Noor, our Kailouee guide; and afterwards by some other person. Yesterday I saw her in the tent of the Sfaxee. The poor woman submits to the inconstancy of Fortune with marvellous fortitude. She is now quite merry, and inclined to play the coquette. Poor thing! Let us be thankful for her that she has been granted this elasticity of temper,

and that she is willing to the last to cheer the gloom of whomsoever will be cheered in return for a little tenderness and protection.

I insert a note upon the money used here:

| | |
|---|---|
| The large dollar (douro) .. | 7 Tunisian piastres. |
| The small dollar .. .. .. | 5 Tun. piast. (in Mourzuk). |
| The large dollar .. .. .. | 3 metagals. |
| The small dollar .. .. .. | 2 metagals (in Tintalous). |
| One metagal .. .. .. | 1000 wadas (in Tintalous). |
| One mahboub .. .. .. | 7 Tun. piast. (60 paras in Mourzuk and Tripoli). |
| One metagal .. .. .. | 40 drâa* (in Aheer and Soudan). |

I was engaged in setting down this information, when intelligence was brought me that our camels had again been carried off. This affront was offered us yesterday at noon, during a storm of rain, before my visit to the Sultan; but Yusuf had thought it best to keep the matter concealed from me, hoping restitution would be made before I heard of it. I sent him immediately to lay our case before the Sultan. So it seems that we are to be hunted here, even, in our repose under the protection of En-Noor! It is impossible to tell how we shall get safely to Zinder. Our boat is still at Seloufeeat. Yusuf is gone to see En-Noor.

Naturally I feel very much annoyed about the missing camels. They were stolen, it seems, not only in the middle of the day, but at a distance of not more than a quarter of a mile from the residence of

* The drâa is *an arm* of strips of cotton stuff, about two inches long.

En-Noor! This is too bad, really too bad. Are we never to have any repose?

In the evening, as a slight consolation, we were fortunate enough to purchase some provisions. The German got two goats, and I some samen. I also borrowed ghaseb until we could buy.

6*th*.—I got up in better health this morning, and felt the benefit of the goats'-flesh broth. I observe that it does not rain during the night; the showers come on generally in the afternoon. The mornings are dry, fine, and hot. This morning, at half-past seven A. M., the thermometer stood under the tent at 79° Fahr.

The Tanelkums, by the way, left us yesterday evening. They all return in the course of fifteen days; some of them go on to Zinder, and others make their way back to Mourzuk. Haj Omer quarrelled desperately with Yusuf before he started.

I may here make a few observations on these curious people. Generally, the Tanelkums are reckoned amongst the most effeminate and civilised of the Tuaricks of the north; and, indeed, such appears to be their character, as developed in our transactions with them. Some of them have more the manners of merchants than camel-drivers; and the mercantile character always tames men in the desert. Throughout their journey with us they were at all times polite, and at last even became quite amiable. During the two affairs which we

had with the robbers, their conduct was regular and brave: once or twice only they seemed to waver. But probably, had their own interests been imminently exposed, they would have abandoned us to save themselves, at which we should not have been surprised. Had there been a regular battle, in which they had taken part, the road would certainly have been closed to them ever afterwards.

Like all Tuaricks, these Tanelkums are great beggars, and such of them as were with us allowed no opportunity to escape of getting something out of us. They are always accompanied by a few Haghars or Azghers. In features they are for the most part European; a few only are marked by negro characters: but nearly all are very dark in complexion. They are generally good-looking, tall, and slightly made. Their manners are quite Tuarick, and they speak a regular Tuarick dialect. They also speak a little Arabic, and understand the Hausa. As to religion, they are very devout and superstitious, and remain long at their prayers.

The huckster-women of the town continue to visit us, bringing their small wares. Many of them have their faces painted very picturesquely with green and yellow. They are mere negroes in features. These women bring very small quantities of the dark-brown rice of Soudan, with ghaseb, onions, and other little things.

I find that our servants are to-day in better spirits, because we have got a supply of provisions.

I repeat again, that the Germans and myself enjoy tolerably good health, but none of us can be said to be in a state of robust bodily vigour.

This portion of the landscape of Aheer, if I may use the term landscape, does not differ materially from the first which we entered. The rocks are all granite, and of one colour.

The greater part of the trees are tholukh and souak. The hasheesh consists chiefly of the *bou rekabah*.

In the valley I observe a fine old specimen of the Soudan tree, called, in Bornouese, *kărághou*. The little black-and-white bird which has followed us all through the desert from Mourzuk still appears here, and sings a little.

It is difficult to describe the state of mind in which I write down all these things. Here we are helplessly encamped, our camels driven away, and no signs of their return. Certainly En-Noor sends us promises that he will do what he can for us; but though we do not doubt his goodwill we begin to be uncertain of his power. He is still suffering from rheumatism and fever, and they tell us he is not able to receive strangers. Let us hope that this seclusion bodes no ill to our interests. Some of his female relations came this morning to ask for little presents. I gave the mother of Mohammed, who commanded our escort, a handkerchief. This young man has, we are told, gone out this morning alone to search for our lost camels. Meanwhile, in the hope

that our property may be restored to us, I propose to write to Zinder for an escort. It is better and more agreeable to pay escorts than robbers in these countries. But I must wait for the recovery of En-Noor. They tell us now that there are no robbers or bandits along the Soudan route at all; and the proof cited is, that the smallest caravans pass in safety. The property of Christians, however, will probably be considered as common property, the lawful prey of every one who may be disposed to possess himself of it. This news of peace, therefore, concerns us not. We may still have to buy our way.

The thermometer under the tent this evening, at an hour after dark, was 81° Fahrenheit.

*7th.*—I rose late, after a more refreshing sleep than usual, and felt much better in health. The sky was overcast with thick clouds; and the thermometer stood at 77° at seven A.M. My first question was, whether any news had been heard of the camels; but I only learned that on the previous day many people had gone in search of them, scouring the country. The servants notice that I am much depressed, and endeavour to cheer me. On the whole I must say that they show considerable good feeling.

I remember now with pleasure, that when we were attacked on the road and I appeared with arms amongst them, they always insisted upon my going to my tent, exclaiming: "Go, O Consul, to your tent;

rest there: you shall not fight." Some added: "Let them kill us first; then you may fight if you please: but whilst we are living remain in your tent!" These were not mere words, but expressed sympathy and fidelity. I ought to mention, that all along this journey I went among the people by the name of Consul Yakōb, whilst Dr. Barth was known as the Reis, and Dr. Overweg as the Taleb.

On this occasion these poor fellows threw words of consolation to me in the midst of their bartering for provisions, which at the present moment was their greatest care, if I except that of eating them. They have been living on short commons, and have suffered as much as we have. Want of regular food may have had an effect on me. I find that my hopes of good health are to be disappointed. I am obliged to keep my bed this afternoon, and to refrain from nourishment. Meanwhile a storm again comes on, laden with sand, which covers everything. Then follows violent rain, which lasts until late in the evening.

As I lay, troubling myself with apprehension of the Kailouees, En-Noor of our escort came to pay us a visit. He says he has been to his own town, and promises us better fortune higher up towards Soudan than we have hitherto had. He is himself about to start with a large caravan for Zinder, in about twenty days. Among other news, he tells us of the progress of the insurrection. The tribes passed some distance to our right a few days ago,

moving towards Asoudee and Aghadez, to instal a new Sultan. The revolution is now at its height, but may soon be brought to a close. It is fortunate that Tintalous lay out of the way of these rude desert revolutionists, as a visit from them might have been attended with evil consequence to us.

The excitement caused by this intelligence was a little calmed by the report that our camels had been heard of in the direction of Aghazar. Our friend Mohammed is in full pursuit of them, with fair hopes of procuring their return. En-Noor says that we shall certainly get them back,—all; but he adds the qualifying phrase, *Inshallah !*—if it please God! Meanwhile "patience," as my comforter advises me. He is quite a narrative man, and enlarges on geography. According to him, Asben is the Soudan name for all this country, whilst it is known as Aheer by the people of the north.

8*th*.—I felt much better this morning, having got rid of the diarrhœa. The weather was very damp, and the thermometer at six A.M. stood at 72°. At one o'clock it rose to 90°, but still there was cool air flying about the tent. The sky remained overcast all day, but birds were singing as if it were the opening of the Aheer spring.

Dr. Overweg remarks truly, that you cannot shoot a man in this country, even if he knocks you down and robs you; for that would be the murder by an infidel of a Muslim, and the whole population would rise up against you. The observation may

become a practical one of these days; and submission will prove to be the only remedy, whatever may happen.

Another result of practical observation! We shall have to destroy our tin biscuit-chests, for all the people swear that they are full of money. Our own servants go so far as to say that these chests, by exciting the curiosity and cupidity of the people, have been the causes of most of our misfortunes. In whatever case, every European travelling through these countries will be considered to have half his baggage consisting of gold and silver. I have been telling the people all along I have not any money, but no one quite believes me.

In this country, by the way, and all Saharan countries where many languages are spoken, a great deal is done by signs. The sign of the crooked forefinger represents the crouching of man and beast under sickness; but no sign is more common than which represents the large Spanish dollar, namely, forming a circle with the thumb and forefinger, and turning the thumb downwards.

Escort En-Noor, as I am obliged to distinguish him, returns to his place this night, and takes with him three or four camels, to give them something to eat; they are starving here near the town. I settled with him for the thirty-seven reals of Wataitee in goods, not money;—so the Queen's property goes!

The peculiarity of this locality at the present season of the year appears to be, that it rains every

afternoon, beginning about three P.M.; the showers being preceded by a few puffs of strong wind, and continuing till an hour before dark. This is fortunate for us, for we know how to prepare ourselves for circumstances. Under tent we have a most drenching dampness during the night, continuing till the sun gets well up next morning. The people say that the rain has given over in Soudan. The season is, therefore, later here. The rain, if I may use the expression, would seem now to travel north; it has, however, began up in the higher regions surrounding Constantine. When I was there, I believe in August 1846, it had already set in; and now it will soon begin in Tripoli. At nine A.M. we begin to dry our clothes, and we get pretty well dried and aired by the time the rain begins again in the afternoon.

The day before yesterday a woman died in Tintalous, and was carried to the grave solely by women. This was considered an extraordinary thing by the Moors of the coast, but I see nothing extraordinary in the circumstance. The fact is, the Moors think the men ought to do everything except bear children and perform the drudgery of the household.

We have little communication with the town, the rain cutting us off from it and its inhabitants. A flood of water pours down the valley every evening, after which the ground continues all night and all next day in a state of wet mud.

9*th*.—I rose without receiving any good news. On the contrary, Mr. Sfaxee, who has always professed such disinterestedness, begins to hint demands. I find that I shall have to pay him as much as the other people. Escort En-Noor, by the way, was delighted with the little present I made to him of a pair of coloured scissors for his wife. The thermometer a little after mid-day rose to 94° Fahr. and 27° 30′ of Réaum. In the afternoon the rain only threatened, and we had but two or three puffs of wind.

We hear that the Sultan is better; and from his servants we collect that he is not willing we should go on to Zinder unless escorted by himself. Certainly this arrangement would please us under ordinary circumstances; but we hear that it would detain us two or three months in Aheer, which will never do. To-day I made acquaintance with the round salt-cakes of Bilma. They consist of a very rough species of salt, like so many big round grains of the coarsest sandstone. One that I saw was of a dark brown colour, extremely dirty, about half-a-foot in diameter. Apparently these lumps are very compact; they serve as money both in Soudan and Tintalous. The greater part of the revenue of Aheer is derived from this salt carrying between Bilma and Zinder.

10*th*.—This morning I felt much better, as well as I have ever done since leaving Tripoli. One adapts one's self to any climate by degrees. I took

courage even to read a little, and went over Jackson's "What to Observe," among other things. But my mind is still troubled about our future course of proceeding. It is impossible to bring Sultan En-Noor to any arrangement. He still shelters himself from our importunities under the plea of ill health. Almost every morning we have a few visitors from the town. The people are not troublesome, except that they show a good deal of prying curiosity to see the faces, forms, and actions of Christians. We learn that scouts are still out after our camels, hitherto without success. I am afraid they have been driven far away; and begin to doubt our ever setting eyes on them again.

The morning was clear and dry, with a little cool wind breathing up the valley. The country was covered with fresh herbage; trees were budding and birds singing, as in spring. Yesterday evening we had a visit from a wolf, who was looking out for our two or three sheep for a supper, but the watch was too well kept. There are many wild animals in Aheer, but we have hitherto seen but few. Very pretty doves fly about our tent; and Dr. Overweg shot some small birds to send home.

Aheer, in general, must be considered as a part of the Southern Sahara, or Great Desert. Any country not producing periodic crops of grain, either by the annual rains or by irrigation, comes under this denomination here. Aheer answers the description perfectly, although there are some ex-

ceptions. Seloufeeat and Tintaghoda have annual crops of grain produced by irrigation.

I have obtained a list, such as it is, of the towns and villages surrounding Tintalous. Seloufeeat and Tintaghoda are not mentioned, as they lay in our route to this place. My informant declined to give any account of the numbers of the population, in all cases.*

From Tintalous, as radii, are spread around the towns and villages of—Asărá, two hours west; Asărărá, a place near Asoudee; Ghăloulaf, four hours south; Asoudee, six hours south-south-west; Tănousămăt, two hours west (forty people); Aghŏŏŏu, two hours north (country of Escort En-Noor); Tănăsămă, four hours east (one family); Aghădéz, six days south-west; Baghzem, two days south; Aghălăgh, a few hours further south (fifty people); Bindăée, one hour and a-half east (no people); Teelaou, four hours east; Tegheda, a walk for shepherds, three hours west; Asoudărăka, five hours south (forty or fifty); Terken, seven hours west (not known); Timeĕă, four hours west (fifty, and many dates); Doumous, one day west; Agharghar, two days west; Oudăras, two days south-south-west (place for shepherds); Abasas, two days south (a place for shepherds); Tabernee (a well), two days

* He may have refused from superstitious motives. Muslims are peculiarly sensitive on this subject. In Egypt, Mohammed Ali encountered considerable passive resistance in his endeavours to procure a census.—Ed.

south); Shouwărĕkĕdĕ, or Touwerkedad (on the side of Tabernee), one day south; Maree, one day south (place for shepherds); Arăsămadăn, by the side of Maree, south (well); Shintaghalee, in Wady Tentaghemea, near the above, south; Azanwazghĕr, near the above, south; Zanairas,* two days north-east.

It would have been very interesting to collect authentic information as to the population of many places in Aheer. I suspect the number of inhabitants is very small indeed. I had already been powerfully impressed with the paucity of the population of the districts of Ghât, the desert region occupied by the Azgher, and had been led to compute that they cannot contain in all more than a couple of thousand people.

* Zanairas is the native place of Ferajee and Deedee, where Lousou exercises authority. This list is still very imperfect. It is difficult to find a man who will give correct and full information. As will be seen, my informant gave me wadys and sheep-walks for towns, in many cases. [At the end of the volume will be found more complete information on the positions of places in Aheer, subsequently obtained by Mr. Richardson.—Ed.]

## CHAPTER XVII.

Zinder Caravan—Negress playing "Boree"—Curious Scene—Objects of Barter—Fresh Annoyances—Remarks on our Reception in Aheer—En-Noor—Asoudee—Better News—Fresh Extortions—En-Noor disappoints us—Europeans taken for Spies—Things in demand at Aheer—Exercise—Overweg's Patients—Wild Animals in Aheer—Kailouees in dry Weather—Robbing a Prince—Ghaseb and Ghafouley—Aheer Cheese—Mokhlak Bou Yeldee—Our Wealth noised abroad—Alarm at Night—A fresh Attack—Saïd's Gallantry—Disorderly Protectors—Thirteen Robbers—Amankee—Loss of my Tea—Country of Thieves.

10*th Sept. continued.*—Yusuf has been to the town, but has come back without any authentic news of the departure of the caravans for Zinder. He says, however, that En-Noor is better; and that it is reported that the first caravan will go in fifteen or twenty days, and the second and largest, with which En-Noor himself talks of setting out, about twenty days afterwards.

I was disturbed this evening from my repose on the dry sand under the pale moonlight by the most unearthly noises, coming from a group of our black servants. On getting up to see what it was, I found

that one of our negresses, a wife of one of the servants, was performing *Boree*, the "Devil," and working herself up into the belief that his Satanic majesty had possession of her. She threw herself upon the ground in all directions, and imitated the cries of various animals. Her actions were, however, somewhat regulated by a man tapping upon a kettle with a piece of wood, beating time to her wild manœuvres. After some delay, believing herself now possessed, and capable of performing her work, she went forward to half-a-dozen of our servants, who were squatting down on their hams, ready to receive her. She then took each by the head and neck, and pressed their heads between her legs—they sitting, she standing—not in the most decent way, and made over them, with her whole body, certain inelegant motions, not to be mentioned. She then put their hands and arms behind their backs, and after several other wild cries and jumps, and having for a moment thrown herself flat upon the ground, she declared to each and all *their future*—their fortune, good or bad. I did not stop to see the result of the ceremony. The slaves carry these mysteries with them in their servitude, and the practice of such indecent and profane things are tolerated by the Muslims of the coast. The Moors and Arabs, indeed, have great faith in these mysteries, and resort to them to know *their future*.

I made this day a list of objects of barter:—A small looking-glass in a tin case, value, in Tripoli,

thirty paras, purchases here two sahs of ghaseb. A common print handkerchief, value fourpence English money, only purchases three or four sahs of ghaseb.

Eight drâa of fine white calico are equal to one metagal; three of which metagals is a large dollar. (This does not sell at much advantage.)

I this day finished my dispatch, dated from Esalan, respecting the disputes and disagreements I had with the Tuaricks of Ghât; but since then these Haghars have, indeed, appeared very moderate people to us.

Thermometer at half-past twelve P.M., under tent, 92° Fahr.

Instead of much rain, we have had a squall of wind this afternoon, attended by a slight shower.

In the afternoon, Yusuf came, with a menacing tone, from En-Noor, saying, we must pay ten metagals (of this country) for finding each of the lost camels; or if not, this sum would be taken from us by force. Yusuf added, also, that En-Noor was dissatisfied with his present; that the Sultan had remarked to him, — "It was a present for servants, and he had given it all away to the people." Moreover, that yesterday came several persons, marabouts, from Tintaghoda, who mentioned their displeasure to En-Noor because they had not yet received anything.

I was just rejoicing at the finding of three lost camels; but it seems we are not to have a moment

of repose or enjoyment in Aheer. It may be, hereafter, "sweet to remember these things," but it is now a sad trial of patience to bear them. I abused En-Noor and our servants in turn. As to the forty metagals, there was not a question ventured about that; but the present of En-Noor was the largest we had ever made, and it would have been better to have brought with us letters of recommendation for robbers than such people. All this comes after it had been noised abroad through the whole village that En-Noor was greatly rejoiced at the present, and all the people were happy and content. Such, however, is the dependence to be placed on reports in the African kingdom of Aheer! However, I am determined to give way to no more vain fears, but to preserve as much as possible of the property of Government. I am sorry to say that I receive no assistance in my efforts to save the money with which I have been entrusted.

I am now writing to Mr. Gagliuffi on the subject of the great losses and shameless extortion to which we were subjected on our arrival in this country. In reviewing the whole affair, setting apart the personal devotion exhibited towards myself, I have no cause to be pleased with our escort and servants. They gave way too easily to fear, and seem to have been too willing to allow us to buy ourselves off. I have omitted to mention that they wished us to write a document, to the effect that if we came to harm it was not through their fault!

This singular idea was, of course, rejected. I must observe, that not only we, but all our caravan, were prodigiously disappointed by the reception we met with. The Haghars were expected to be troublesome, and their alleged pursuit of us was sufficiently probable; but no one admitted that there was any danger from the people of Aheer. On the contrary, all professed delight at the prospect of entering the inhabited districts, where it was thought and boldly proclaimed we should all have the most cordial welcome. Yet the Haghars did not come, and the borderers of Aheer treated us as badly as the wildest Tuaricks could have done, behaving like veritable brigands. I entertain some faint hopes of obtaining redress; but have been so often deceived, that I shall say nothing for the present on the subject.

*Friday*, 13*th Sept.*—I rose early; a fine morning. Thermometer at a quarter to seven P.M. under tent, 78°. We had a visit early from the son-in-law of En-Noor and his two friends, who had found the camels. They were extremely polite, and much pleased when I sent them to the Sfaxee to receive forty metagals for the recovery of the four lost camels (one is not yet come up). Then I had a visit from one of the slaves of En-Noor's brother. This man gave a good account of En-Noor, and said he would certainly go with us. He observed, also, respecting the Sultan's authority, "En-Noor governs everywhere—all Aheer, and even Damerghou

and Zinder." This must be taken to signify, En-Noor has great influence in all these countries.

Asoudee is said by some to be a city, walled, and of considerable extent, with many people; others represent it as being in ruins. I think its ruins are mentioned in my Ghadamez itinerary. Unlike Tintalous, a great quantity of provisions is stored up in that place.

Yusuf and the Sfaxee came this morning from En-Noor, and brought more tranquillising news; but we have been obliged to give ten douros each for finding the lost camels—almost as much as my white maharee is worth. However, I remained in tolerably good spirits all day, cheered by the favourable account given me of the Sultan. But woe to the man who hugs himself in a feeling of security in Aheer!

Late in the evening Yusuf and the Sfaxee came from En-Noor with a most threatening message. The Sheikh says, in substance, that "Everybody wishes to attack us, and take away our property. To protect us, therefore, and conduct us to Zinder, he must have, at least, seven hundred dollars." At first he demanded one thousand, and then came down to seven hundred. Such is the man to whom we are recommended as a friend and protector. None of the robbers have yet taken so large a sum, so that this is the greatest, grandest of the brigands! I went to bed disquieted by the enormity of En-Noor's demands.

14*th*.—As may be imagined, I passed an unquiet night, disturbed by the most gloomy forebodings. It now appeared to me that all the amenity of the Sultan had been assumed, in order that he might first get all he could out of us by gentle means, previous to resorting to threats and bullying. As to resistance, it is, of course, impossible, if imperative demands be made. In the morning En-Noor sent a message, to the effect that he could not see us unless we had made up our minds to give him the seven hundred dollars. He is getting more and more bold and impertinent. I deputed Mahommed Tunisee and the Sfaxee to him as negotiators. They are to offer a present of five hundred dollars; that is to say, three hundred for the escort to Zinder, and the remaining two hundred after the signing of the treaty. With some difficulty the matter was for the present arranged, by the sacrifice of another hundred dollars as a present to the courtiers of the great man, in order that they might induce him to be so kind as to accept of the remaining five hundred! My agents were greatly assisted by the Wakeel of Makersee of Mourzuk. I consented to the arrangement on En-Noor's writing a letter to her Majesty's Government, promising protection to British travellers for the future; and thus ended this new, and I may say, flagrant series of exactions. Possibly, had I been alone, I might have been able to hold out longer and more successfully; but it is somewhat embarrassing to act with persons who

share in your councils without sharing in your responsibility, and who naturally seek the shortest and easiest method of getting over all difficulties. The conclusion of the arrangement had a tranquillising effect upon our encampment, especially on my worthy German colleagues.

The people have complained to En-Noor that we are "writing the country." This is an old complaint, and pervades all Northern Africa and the Desert, "that the Christians come first to write a country, and afterwards invade or capture it." Travellers, therefore, especially when they venture to use the pen in public, are looked upon as spies, which may in part account for the rough treatment they sometimes receive.

Every place has certain things especially in demand. Here nothing goes down but white calico and very small looking-glasses, which shut up in boxes. With these we purchase the greater part of our provisions. There is a little cotton-money about. Our encampment sometimes resembles a market. The people are curious to observe every action which differs from theirs. When I promenade a little for exercise, they immediately turn their eyes upon me with astonishment, and some come to ask what I do that for. I reply by signs,* feeling my legs and stretching them. This proves

* It is astonishing how few of the Kailouees speak Arabic. The few terms and expressions they are acquainted with are only those of commerce.

satisfactory, for the Kailouees are apparently an active people, at least in this season; but they moved about little while the rain lasted, and in the middle of the day they rarely visit us—always in the morning and in the afternoon. Dr. Overweg has got some patients; but people generally seem to enjoy very good health in this place. We have now a great deal of wind instead of rain: it always blows hard in the latter part of the day. I find this weather very bracing, though the thermometer at nine P.M. sometimes stands at 83°. The rainy season may be considered nearly at an end.

The valleys and rocks of Aheer abound with several kinds of wild animals, both the inoffensive and the ferocious; viz. the gazelle, the wadan, the wild ox, the ostrich, the wild boar, the jackal, the wolf, the hyæna, and the lion. Numerous birds haunt the trees. Amongst others we noticed a very beautiful species of dove, with a very distinct black ring round its neck; the hippoo; the wood-pecker; linnets; and over us flew the little black-and-white bird with the long feathers in its tail.

15*th*.—We had a fine morning; the wind has quite dried our encampment. There will be little more wet weather, they tell us; and the rain has some time quite ceased in Soudan. This is fortunate, as already several of our things have been spoiled. The Kailouees are taking advantage of the dry weather, and may be seen riding about in all directions. The members of the great families, like

our European aristocrats, seem to have no other occupation. God has created the earth for this class to gallop about over. It was very warm and fine all day; thermometer at noon, in tent, 95° Fahr.: there was little wind.

The secret of En-Noor's authority is this: in all his great gains, and lucky enterprises, and pieces of good fortune—as our arrival here has proved—he gives his principal people and courtiers a share of the profit or the spoil; and when nothing particular is going on, he feeds them from the granary of his house, or clothes them from his heaped-up merchandise. All this, however, does not save the prince from being occasionally robbed—if we are to believe report, which says that the other evening some black cotton turbans were taken from his house. The news from the town is, that En-Noor and his courtiers have received the amount of their extortion in goods. We have now given at Tintalous to the value of nearly a thousand dollars, and yet we have not received the smallest present in return—not a supper the day of our arrival, not a little butter or fruit; nothing, absolutely nothing!

Our servants have nearly procured all the ghaseb which they require for the journey from this to Zinder, viz. one hundred sahs. This they have purchased with various little wares, principally knives and looking-glasses. The ghaseb is always mixed with ghafouley, a species of grain about a third the size of a small pea. Ghafouley is called *koula* in

Soudanese. The Aheer cheese has appeared for the first time amongst us to-day. It is made in little squares, three by two inches broad, and a quarter of an inch thick. It is eaten fresh, but has a poor flavour. The people prefer pounding it into dust when dry, and drinking it with ghaseb-water, which is white as milk, and very cool. The paste thus made is very white, and becomes as hard as a stone when dry. I have also made acquaintance with *doua doua*, round black balls of a vegetable composition, eaten with various dishes as seasoning. It is very abundant in Soudan. There is also a species of ghaseb paste, called *dāboóă*, not unlike macaroni in very small pieces. This is very much esteemed. It swells exceedingly when boiled, like paste. We begin to get into regions where the preparation of food is greatly changing. Yesterday my servants purchased me a fowl, and I learned for the first time that this delicacy was to be procured.

I have studied but little since I left Tripoli. Our affairs have always been worse and worse, and we have had a continual battle to preserve our existence. Such is the beginning of this expedition: God only knows what may be its *end*. There is left for us but a firm reliance in His goodness and protecting providence.

16*th*.—This was a warm, hazy day, and we were troubled with considerable languor. I have slept but little these three nights, and feel somewhat indisposed for want of rest. I read a good deal of

Clapperton's "Journey to Sakkatou," besides beginning a vocabulary of the Kailouee language, with the assistance of Mokhlak Bou Yeldee, who is a very clever young man. He gets his living by writing charms, and sells a good number for the cure of disease. People pour water on the ink or writing of the charm, and then drink the magic liquid. The remedy is doubtless as effectual as many patent medicines in Europe. As is well known, this superstition of drinking the Koran is of old date.

En-Noor sent a message this morning by the slave of Makersee, that we were not to say a single word to any one, not even to our servants, about the money, or its amount, which we have paid him for our escort to Zinder. He says, "If the people hear of this money, they will all come down upon me for a portion; and if I do not comply with their wishes they will abandon us, and not go with us to Zinder, and I want as many of them to go with me as possible."

Our wealth is still noised abroad! The people believe all our boxes to be full of gold and silver. Even En-Noor sought for secret information respecting the amount of dollars which he supposed to be concealed amongst our baggage.

I was again restless when night came on, and was still awake when the moon was near setting, about three A.M., under tent, at which time suddenly I heard the wife of Saïd begin to squall, with the

sound of the trampling of feet around my tent. I conjectured immediately what was up. "Another attack!" I repeated mechanically to myself, and getting up, began to dress myself. At first I thought our assailants were at some distance off, but when the boxes began to be drawn from around my tent I exclaimed, "Oh, oh, they are upon me, and are carrying off the things." Still I had become so accustomed to these attacks, or attempted attacks, by night and by day, that I felt quite indifferent, and began to dress myself as if nothing was the matter, or simply as if some one had called me up suddenly to breakfast, or that we were to start off early on our way.

I found my clothes, however, with some difficulty, and tore them a little in putting them on. At last I went out. All our people were up, as well as the Germans. On inquiring the news, I learned that a band of robbers had attacked us; from six to ten had been counted. My servants had all decamped, with the exception of Saïd. Some of them had been struck by the robbers, and others had been threatened, and had ran away. My servant Saïd, as soon as he sallied out and saw what was going on, seized his matchlock, and pointed it at the assailants, especially those who were removing the saharees (large square boxes). Upon this they began to quake, and, parleying with Saïd, begged for mercy, and said they would go immediately if the powder was not used against them. Saïd took

them at their word, and they ran off. They had already, however, carried away about nine pounds of tea, packed in tin boxes. It is probable they mistook these boxes of tin for silver, or considered their contents to be money, gold and silver, although their lightness should have undeceived them. As the Arabic Bibles and Testaments were packed up with the tea, they carried off a Bible with them. But this they afterwards dropped on the road, and it was picked up by a shepherdess, and brought to me. They also took away a pewter dish and two bags of grounded ghaseb, besides ripping open the bags of the blacks. This appears to be the amount of the robbery and devastation; very fortunate are we it was not worse. We had watched many nights, and had often loaded our guns; but this night, when the thieves came, we were miserably unprepared to receive them. The Germans had been cleaning their guns, and all were unloaded. Overweg had his fowling-piece charged with small shot. At length we got two or three guns in trim, and our servants followed the robbers, but nothing of them was to be seen. The cowards had fled at the first show of resistance. In the morning, on searching through the small valley up which they had come, we were surprised to find marks of no less than thirteen camels—enough to carry away all our goods. So that it is probable there were some thirteen robbers, a part of whom remained with the camels whilst the others attacked us. Amankee, on being knocked

down with a shield, got up again, and ran off to the town, giving the alarm everywhere.

En-Noor, as soon as the news of this aggression reached him, sent off a *posse* of people, and then called in the inhabitants of a neighbouring village: so that, when all was over, our encampment was surrounded by a disorderly multitude of protectors till day-light.

To my tent came the confidential servant of En-Noor, and everybody was talking, drinking coffee, and making merry. After all, it was well to have these people, for if the thirteen robbers had shown ordinary courage, in our unprepared state we should have had a good deal of work to do, and might some of us have got bad sword-cuts or spear-thrusts.

En-Noor, they say, is exceedingly angry about this attack, and has sent eleven mounted men after the robbers to seize their camels, which if he gets hold of he intends to confiscate. One Amankee calling on him he observed, "You, Amankee, being a native of Soudan, and not a Muslim of Tripoli, are like the Kailouees. You can fire on these Kailouee robbers. Get your gun loaded, ready for any other occasion."

At daylight, after lecturing my servants for not giving the alarm (for, with the exception of Saïd's wife, they were all so terror-stricken—literally struck dumb with terror—that they could not speak, much less cry out), I sent Amankee off at

the heels of the robbers. In all such emergencies I have found no one like Amankee: he is a complete bloodhound, and can scent his way through all the desert, and follow the steps of the most agile and quick-witted fugitive. I knew Amankee would pick up some of the tea and bring news of the robbers. He returned, and fulfilled my expectations: he picked up about six ounces of tea scattered on the road, and brought the news that the robbers were from Tidek and Taghajeet. They had come some days' journey to plunder us. I learned, also, that the rascals, just before they attacked us, had been feasting at a wedding in Tintalous.

I grieved very much for the loss of my tea, and employed six or seven hours in picking the stones out of what Amankee recovered. I had greatly coveted this luxury, and set my heart upon it; and now my idol was ruthlessly torn from me by a band of robbers! Amankee, knowing my feelings, had offered a reward for the rest, telling the people he saw on the road that the tea could only be drank by Christians, and was poison for Muslims! This fib drew from the astonished Kailouees a woful ejaculation—"Allah! Allah!" Many funny scenes were enacted during the few minutes of the attack of the robbers. The other negress, a wife of another of the servants, was quite dumb; but Saïd's wife crept around the tent like a dog, on her hands and feet, giving the alarm, but fearing to rise up lest she should be felled down by the robbers. The servants

of the Germans hearing the squalling thought it was Saïd "beating his wife"—a thing common in these countries. Dr. Barth heard all sorts of noises, but imagined they were all from the celebration of the wedding. It is always well to examine suspicious circumstances. A strange camel had been seen straying at sunset near our tent, which excited the suspicions of myself and Dr. Barth. If we had obeyed our presentiments, we might have discovered the intended attack, or, at least, have made some preparations.

A few robbers have often visited us before this. When I had an interview with En-Noor I asked for a couple of guards, but he refused them, on the plea that they were unnecessary. Although he knew well the country is now full of thieves, and told us so, he never expected this audacious attack of thirteen maharees! Soudan abounds with thieves, and we must now always keep watch. May we, however, in our further progress, have nothing more to fear than petty larceny; and we shall have reason indeed to be thankful!

## CHAPTER XVIII.

We shift our Encampment—En-Noor's Circular—The Kadi's Decision —No Progress in the Sahara—Aghadez Gumruk—Scorpions—Election of Sultans in Aheer—Present of Salutation—Paying for finding lost Property—Courier from the new Sultan—No Presents sent us—Notes on Denham—A Bornouese Measure—Intended Razzia—Firing off Gunpowder—Hypotheses of Danger—Dress and Women—Route to Bilma—Soudan Caravan—Visit from Tintaghoda—Aheer Honey—Modes of Measurement—Power of En-Noor—Visits to him from great People—Stations on the Bilma Road—Salt-Trade—Account of our Pursuers at Tajetterat—Costume of the Kailouees—Their Weapons—Poisoned Arrows—Charms —Female Dress—Names of Articles of Costume—Character of Kailouees.

*Sept. 17th.*—In the morning En-Noor sent a message that we must immediately move from our present encampment on our sand-hills, a quarter of a mile from the town, where we had a pleasant view of everything in the valley and around, and come near the people. So in the course of the day we pitched tents close by the houses of the town. We found that we were not so much molested by the inhabitants (*i. e.* by their curiosity) as we expected.

I had heard in the previous evening that En-Noor, two or three days ago, had written, by means

of one of the learned men of this place, to all the towns and villages around him, begging the Sheikhs and people not to offer us any molestation whilst we were residing here, under his immediate protection, as his guests, and as sacred persons recommended to his care. This shows good-will in the venerable Sultan. He sent to us this morning the result of the Kadi's decision, respecting the robbers. This singular question was put to the Kadi, "Whether it was lawful to rob and murder the Christians by night?" Answer, "No; on the contrary, the Christians may fire on and kill the Muslim robbers." The Sultan, it appears, attaches great importance to this decision, and counts on it to obtain the suffrages of all his people in our favour.

Such are the circumstances attending the first visit of Christians to Aheer! I believe this attack will do our servants good. They see now, that, by a little resistance, the most audacious of thieves will be put to flight. We ourselves shall also keep better watch for the future.

18*th*.—I finished to-day a vocabulary of the Kailouee language. I endeavour also to divert my mind from the many causes of annoyance that now exist, by studying the records of the Denham and Clapperton expedition. We shall soon be amidst the same countries that they explored, and, no doubt, shall find that little has changed in the manners of the people during these last thirty years. Neither in the Desert nor in the kingdoms of Central

Africa is there any march of civilisation. All goes on according to a certain routine established for ages past.

A courier has just arrived from the new Sultan of Aghadez, demanding the gumruk, or custom-dues, from the caravan of Christians who have entered Aheer. As if we had not already paid enough! After two or three weeks of incessant solicitation, by the way, I gave Es-Sfaxee, Yusuf, and Mahommed, a small bottle of rum—the first, and it shall be the last; for they got drunk and quarrelsome upon it.

19*th*.—This day I took a walk over the neighbouring rocks, whence there is a wide view over the whole surrounding valley. I have omitted to observe, that at our former place of encampment were seen many scorpions; so that here these reptiles inhabit the open country equally with the ruins of old houses or mosques, and such places. Under one of my boxes was also discovered a lêfa, the most dangerous species of serpent in these countries.

It appears that most of the caravans that pass through this country are obliged to pay a certain gumruk to the prince of Aghadez. The relations of the lesser Sheikhs of Aheer with the paramount sultan are of this kind. When a sultan dies, or is displaced, they assemble like the College of Cardinals, or rather like the old Polish nobility, to elect a new one. It is the law that this Sultan of Aghadez must be a stranger. When once chosen he is invested with something like absolute authority

throughout all Aheer, and he alone possesses the dreaded power of "cutting off heads." En Noor has sent this morning what is called "the present of salutation," which he determined to despatch to Abd-el-Kader, the new Sultan of Aghadez, instead of the immense gumruk demanded. The present consists of one Egyptian mattrass; two white turbans with red borders; a piece of white muslin for making light turbans; two shasheeahs, or red caps; two small gilt-framed looking-glasses; and a few beads of glass and earthen composition; one pound of *jouee*, or perfume for burning; a small packet of *simbel*, an aromatic herb used for washing the body; and two heads of white sugar. This composed what may be called the official present for the district of Tintalous. En-Noor added, from himself, two camels, a piece of silk for a gown, and various other little things.

Whilst these magnificences are going on, we are enjoying the comfortable reflection that all our losses are gains to other people, whether they be friends or enemies.

I had as much trouble to satisfy the parties who found the Arabic Bible as if I was purchasing their own property, and not rewarding them for accidentally finding some of my lost goods. Finally, however, I arranged to give them two cotton-printed handkerchiefs and a small quantity of spices. This was more than enough. These rewards for finding our lost property naturally impels our friendly

people, either to rob us themselves or to wish that others may rob us, that they may have something to gain by attempting to recover our lost things. What we had to pay for the recovery of each of our camels was almost as much as some of them were worth.

The weather has been dry and hot for the last few days; at noon the thermometer rose to 100° under the tent. Suddenly it became cloudy, and a few drops of rain began to patter down. There was every appearance of a storm, and our people began to collect towards the tents. At this time another courier arrived from the new Sultan, Abd-el-Kader, of Aghadez, respecting us. His highness says:— "No one shall hurt the Christians: no one shall lift up a finger against them; and if they wish to come to my city, I shall be very happy to receive them." This courier arrived so quickly after the other, that I suspect his highness may be spelling for a large present; or he may have just heard of the bad treatment we have received, and being a new man has determined to afford us some reparation. Little reliance, however, can be placed on these professions, until we know something more of the character of Abd-el-Kader. It is certainly a great disappointment for us that we do not go to Aghadez. I am afraid that this will be the case with many other important cities.

The Es-Sfaxee wished to have a feast to celebrate the arrival of this good news, but I cannot

join in such a demonstration. We have little cause for rejoicing at the conduct of the people of Aheem. En-Noor has not yet sent us a sah of ghaseb, or a drop of samen or a sheep's head. Never did travellers visit a country in Africa, without receiving some mark of hospitality of this kind from the chief or sovereign of the place.

In the evening a fellow came and asked us if we could sell him a veneese (a dressing-gown) in exchange for ghaseb. After some trouble we fixed the bargain. Saïd was fool enough to give him the veneese before he brought the merchandise, the fellow promising to bring it the next morning. During the night he fled with his booty on the road to Aghadez. Amankee went in pursuit of the fugitive, seized him on the road, and brought back the veneese: for such matters there is no one equal to Amankee.

20*th*.—Denham compares the berries of the *suak* (suag) to cranberries. *Zumeeta* is called parched corn; it should be parched ground corn. Gafouley is called guinea-corn. The green herb with which *bazeen* is generally seasoned is called *melocheea* (ochra). There are, however, various herbs for this seasoning, though all of them have a similar flavour. I confess, myself, I do not much like the flavour; it is, like that of olives, an acquired taste Bazeen may be called flour-pudding.

Gubga is a Bornouese measure, eight drâas (or lengths of the lower part of the arm, from the elbow

to the tips of the fingers) in length and one inch and a half broad. Denham, who spells it gubka, says it is about one English yard. The eight drâas would be, however, nearly three yards. This measure is applied to white, coarse, native-woven cotton, and a piece of cotton eight drâas long and one inch and half broad is a gubga. This is the money of Bornou; it must be a most inconvenient currency, but habit accustoms us to everything.

It is reported in town, that En-Noor intends shortly to make a razzia on the towns where we were plundered: he says, perhaps justly, "The tribes have '*tasted*' fine burnouses, more especially their sheikhs; and emboldened by their success, and the attractiveness of the rich vestments, they will now plunder all the caravans." This is another reason why strong representations should be made to the Pasha of Mourzuk to grant us redress. En-Noor can seize camels and sequester them; he can also seize men: but he must afterwards send them to Aghadez for trial. This razzia, however, will not come off yet.

A storm of wind, with a little rain as usual, visited us in the afternoon. It then cleared up, and was fine all the evening.

The Es-Sfaxee, heading our servants, was determined to fire away a little gunpowder this evening though much against my inclination. After they had been firing near the tents, En-Noor sent for them to fire at the doors of his house. The old

Sheikh is now waxing mighty civil, and swears that we are his *walad* (children). We shall see what we shall see. Yusuf even thinks he can be persuaded to sign the treaty. All the Kailouees are very fond of powder, and also very much alarmed at it. They say they could themselves make plenty of powder if saltpetre were found them.

21*st*.—It appears that some of the districts of Damerghou are included within the circle of Aheer, and that the Kailouees exercise authority there. En-Noor has a house there.

Overweg's three hypotheses of danger south of Bornou are:—

1. To be stripped of everything by robbers, and left naked in the wilderness.

2. To be devoured by wild beasts.

3. To be forced to traverse a desert where there is no subsistence for man or beast. Indeed, after the experience we have had up this road, although a Tuarick road (and Tuaricks are not supposed to have a peculiar antipathy to Christians), it will be next to suicide to proceed far south without adequate guides and protection.

The two predominant passions of men in all these Tuarick countries, especially Aheer, are for dress and women. A few only are tainted by fanaticism, and fewer still are misers; because, probably they have nothing to save. Of the character of the women I cannot speak, for want of experience; the few we have met with have begged mostly for trinkets,

and looking-glasses, but we have seen little of the love of intrigue.

About Aheer, the Bornou and Soudan routes appear not to be far apart. The Tibboos make Kisbee to be only eight days from Aghadez. The Kailouees also state that Bilma (or *Boulouma*, in their pronunciation) is only seven or eight days of good travelling from Tintalous; but the salt-caravans always employ fourteen days, arriving at Bilma on the fifteenth.

Yesterday afternoon a portion of a large Soudan caravan arrived. A number of bullocks were amongst its beasts of burden; one of these had immense branching horns, and, according to the report of Saïd's wife, was of the same species as those found in her country, Kanemboo, near Bornou. These bullocks seemed to be in every respect trained like horses, and some of them carry a burden of four cantars.

22*d*.—I rose early, to prepare my despatches for Mourzuk and England. To-day not much wind, only a little refreshing breeze. The wind, which appears to visit us daily instead of the rain, generally begins about an hour after noon, and continues to blow in fitful gusts until three or four P.M., when it gradually sinks. The evenings are perfectly calm, though not always cloudless.

Yesterday five maharees arrived from Tintaghoda, mounted by persons who came to inquire after the health of En-Noor. They left early this morning. Somehow or other these maharees always look sus-

picious to me. The injuries we have received make us suspicious.

I ate some honey of Aheer to-day. It has a most treacley taste, and, in truth, is not unlike treacle, not having the delicate flavour of honey. It has purgative qualities. They boil it on the fire, and so spoil it.

I wrote to-day to Viscount Palmerston, to Mr. Gagliuffi, and my wife, sending also specimens of the Kailouee language, and the journal of Yusuf, describing the route from Ghât to Aheer—altogether a good parcel.

The Arabs and Moors try to measure everything by portions of their body. The drâa, a measure from the elbow to the tips of the fingers, is in universal requisition. The fathom, signified by the arms extended on both sides the body, is not so frequently in use. The sun is often said to be so many fathoms high. If we attended a little more to these natural measures it might be well, although the human body being so various in size we could never be correct, and then we might lose sight of those artificial means of measuring objects which distinguish us from the semi-barbarian Arabs.

This evening I heard from Es-Sfaxee a more favourable account of the power of En-Noor. It would appear that En-Noor is the aged Sheikh, the Sheikh Kebeer of the Kailouees, whom all respect, and to whom all look up in cases of difficulty and distress. With En-Noor always authority remains,

whilst all the other Sheikhs are being changed—some every year. En-Noor, nevertheless, appears to be a great miser, continually amassing wealth in money, merchandise, or camels. He is also reported to have four hundred horses in Damerghou, a district of which is subjected to him.

At the present time he is constantly receiving visits from the surrounding Kubar, "great people," inquiring after his health, and bringing presents. Whilst he thus amasses treasure, he feeds a number of dependants a little above the starvation point; and this standing army suffices for his executive. Several of the princes of Aheer are expected to visit the new Sultan of Aghadez, and compliment him on his accession. The exact name of the new Sultan is now said to be Kadaree Ben El-Bagharee.

23*d*.—I rose early, to send off the despatches. They are sent to Asoudee, where there is a caravan just arrived from Kanou. Among the persons composing it are some Mourzuk people, who will take charge of the despatches. This caravan stays a few days in Asoudee, when it will leave direct for Mourzuk, and arrive at this latter city in the course of two months and a-half.

I have just received an account of the route of the salt-caravans from Tintalous to Bilma :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| From Tintalous to | Asaughar | .. .. .. | Five days. |
| ,, | Fakramah | .. .. .. | One day. |
| ,, | Kāwār | .. .. .. | One day. |
| ,, | Boulouma | .. .. .. | One day. |

The mediate time occupied is said to be between eight and fourteen days. The three stations mentioned between Tintalous and Bilma have wells of water. There is also an abundance of herbage all along the route for camels. The direction of the route is always east, over a flat country (probably through wadys); although, my informant adds, there are no mountains. The salt is found in small lakes. The people amass it with the water, and make of it round cakes; the water runs away, and the cakes become hard and dry. It is then packed up in camel-loads. A large camel-load pays to the Tibboos half a metagal, or about ninepence English money. It is thus evident that the Tibboos do derive a revenue from their salt, contrary to what was stated by them to Major Denham. Since his time, however, this people have found themselves in a better condition to enforce this impost on the Kailouee salt-merchants than they were formerly.

The caravan of Ghât Tuaricks brought here the news, a few days ago, that no less than four hundred people, fractions of the tribes of the Azgher, consisting of men, women, and children, followed us as far as Tajetterat to see what they could get from the Christians. When they arrived at the wells, to their great disappointment we were gone. Some of them were nearly naked, having only a piece of leather round their loins. Our sending for an escort from Mourzuk seems to have aroused the whole country; all these poor wretches expected, at

least, a little *hamsa* from the Christians, who were reported to have a long train of camels laden with gold and silver, and all sorts of rich goods. I do not doubt the correctness of this news; it is so perfectly Targhee in its kind: but the report of sixty maharees pursuing us from the Haghar desert was always doubted by me.

There is now news of my stolen tea, and a chance of my getting some of it back again, the robbers confessing to their friends that they do not know what to do with such "*herbage*," as they call it: it is quite useless to them.

The Kailouees and Tuaricks generally do not like beards, and cut off the hair of the upper lip quite close. Indeed, wearing as they do the thilem, the beard and the mustachios are completely hidden. The Kailouees leave the crown of the head, which is close shaved, as in the case of the Mahommedans of the coast, quite bare, exposed to the sun and weather. Around the lower part of the head they wind a long narrow strip of black cotton stuff (called *rouanee* in Soudanee), which is continued round the face, upper and lower part, and forms the thilem, only about an inch breadth of the face being exposed or visible; that is, the portion including the eyes and bridge of the nose. The generality of the Kailouees wear, besides, a tobe, or long broad cotton frock (or rather shirt, for nothing is worn under it at the upper part of the body), with immensely wide sleeves. Those a little better

off also wear trousers, very wide about the loins, narrow at the legs, and drawn round the waist with a belt. All use leather sandals, strong and thick; some of them are prettily made. The whole of this apparel is imported from Soudan, there being apparently no manufactures in Aheer.

The arms of the men,—for all go armed with some weapon,—are a dagger under the left arm, a sword slung on the back, and a spear in the right hand. The spear-shaft is wood, whilst those of the Ghât Tuaricks and Haghars are frequently metal, of the same substance as the point of the weapon. These iron spears are said to be manufactured by the Tibboos. They are much more formidable weapons than the spears with wooden shafts. When mounted on their maharees, all the Kailouees have shields made of the tanned skins of animals, generally of the wild ox (*bugara wahoosh*). To these arms the people in Aheer now begin to add matchlocks, which are sent up from the coast. The sword is not worn on the back when riding, but hangs down on the right-hand side, sheathed in a fantastic leather case.

A few of the poorer sort of Kailouees appear with bows and arrows. The latter they carry in very close bundles, so well packed up that not one can separate from the other. They told me they were poisoned, and would not let me touch them. Amongst the accomplishments of the Gighis and magicians of Africa is that of poisoning arrows.

The pagan nations are generally very expert in this.

> "dreadful art,
> To taint with deadly drugs the barbed dart."

The younger and more fashionable Kailouees wear round their necks, and hanging down over their breast, a large necklace of charms sewn in leather bags. Some also wear a sort of cloth cap, called bakin zakee, of a green colour, round which they bind the turkadee, or black turban. On this cap they also occasionally wear charms, done up in small metal boxes. Their camels are very fantastically dressed in leathern trappings.

The great men, and indeed all those that can afford it, despise the simple Kailouee costume, and indulge in all the rich dresses which are so much liked by the Moors of the coast,—burnouses, shasheeahs, turbans, veneeses, caftans, tobes of silk, &c.

The dress of the women whom we see about is a simple cotton tobe, covering them from neck to heels. The colour of these tobes is generally blue-black, dyed with indigo; some are glazed with gum. Many, however, are white, and ornamented in front about the neck with silken embroidery,—a costume which gives them a very chaste and elegant appearance. Sometimes the tobes are variegated in colour, as are the trousers; but the sombre, or pure white, are the most popular.

I have set down the Kailouee names for various articles of dress as well as weapons:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Green cloth cap .. .. .. .. | Bakin zakee. |
| Turban, or bandage round the head and face | Taghalmous. |
| Red or other caps .. .. .. .. | Takabout. |
| Frock and shirt .. .. .. .. | Teekatkat. |
| Trousers .. .. .. .. .. | Eskarbace. |
| Sandals .. .. .. .. .. | Eghateema. |
| Dagger .. .. .. .. .. | Azegheez. |
| Sword .. .. .. .. .. .. | Alaghi. |
| Spear .. .. .. .. .. .. | Ebzaghdeer. |
| Shield .. .. .. .. .. | Aghar. |
| Arrow .. .. .. .. .. | Amour. |
| Bow .. .. .. .. .. .. | Takanya. |
| Leathern bag for tobacco, pipe, needles, thread, scissors, looking-glass, and other small things,—nicknacks .. .. .. | Elbés. |
| Charm .. .. .. .. .. .. | Sheera. |

I can scarcely yet venture to pronounce an opinion on the character of the Kailouees. They decidedly differ from the Haghar and Azgher Tuaricks, in being more civil and companionable. But they seem to have acquired from Soudan the habit of petty thieving, from which the Haghars are especially free.

## CHAPTER XIX.

Rainstorm — Overtures from En-Noor — Another Interview — Aheer Fashions — A great Lady — Hoisting the British Flag — A devoted Slave — Sultan of Asoudee — Attack on a Caravan — Purposed Razzia — Desert News — Buying Wives — A peculiar Salutation — Oasis of Janet — New Razzias — Costume of the Sultan — The Milky Way — Noise at a Wedding — Unquiet Nights — Sickness in the Encampment — A captive Scorpion — Nuptial Festivities — An insolent Haghar — Prejudice about Christians — Movements in Aheer — Bullocks.

*Sept. 24th.*—We had a good deal of wind yesterday, but no appearance of rain. This morning was fine, clear, and warm; but just after noon a sudden fall of rain came, followed, within five minutes, by a tempest of thunder, lightning, rain, and hail, which broke immediately over our heads, and carried away our small tents. Even my Bornou tent, having been dried up by the recent weather, admitted the rain, and several of our things were wetted. The tempest itself did not last more than fifteen or twenty minutes; and by the time the moon rose in the evening, all clouds had cleared away, and the heavens were as pure as in the morning. I may observe that the rain is less disagreeable to me than

the clouds of sand-dust, with which we are at other times persecuted. The fine particles cover and pervade everything, and getting between the skin and the flannel, produce an irritation like the pricking of needles.

This day Yusuf brought a message from En-Noor, to the effect that he had heard from various people that I had brought a sword for him from the Queen of England, and also a letter from Her Majesty. He added: "I trust I have done nothing to offend the Consul or his companions; and I pray that there may be nothing between us but good feeling and justice—no lying, nothing but truth and fair dealing."

It now seemed to me that a good opportunity had arrived for introducing the subject of the treaty; and I determined to make an effort, being convinced, from recent transactions between En-Noor and his brother chieftains, that he exerts paramount influence in Aheer: so that it may be of considerable benefit to Christian travellers that a treaty of amity and commerce should be signed by him. Yusuf, therefore, prepared a treaty in Arabic, and I one in English. This done, I caused En-Noor to be informed of our intentions, and, taking with me a sword, went to visit him with some anxiety.

We found the Sultan in company with half-a-dozen people: he received us in a very friendly manner, and really seemed on this occasion to be what he professes to be, the friend and Consul of

the English. I explained to him, that we certainly had this treaty ready for him, and intended to have presented it to him on our arrival; but on account of our sufferings and the robberies committed on us, and seeing the country in a state of revolution, I had no heart to present to his highness anything from the Queen of England. However, now that things were more settled, and as I saw there was authority in the country, I had much pleasure in proposing for his signature a treaty from my Government." At the same moment, as an incentive, I presented the sword (a small naval officer's sword, with a good deal of polished brass and gilding about it, of the value, at most, of five pounds). To my great satisfaction, his highness accepted both treaty and present with ardent manifestations of pleasure. He made me read the document in English, to hear the sound of our language; and he also desired me to leave with him an English copy. This we did, with some explanation of the contents in an Arabic letter on the back. We then took our copy in Arabic. The sword pleased him greatly, on account of its lightness, for he is an old man, not very strong; and because it glittered with gold. We wrote the maker's name in Arabic, and gave directions to have it well preserved. He inquired after Drs. Barth and Overweg, and seemed to take great interest in our welfare.

In the midst of our conversation a lady, one of

the Sultan's female relations, came, moved no doubt by curiosity, into the room. She was evidently a fine dame, a person of fashion in this Saharan capital. Her countenance, in due obedience to the requirements of *ton*, was not "*rouged* up to the eyes," but "*yellowed* up to the eyes!" There cannot be a more appalling custom. Imagine a young lady, of brown-black complexion, daubed with brilliant yellow ochre! The paint covers the whole face, from the roots of the hair to the lower jaw, forming two semicircles with the upper lips. Between the eyes are three black beauty-spots, descending perpendicularly on the bridge of the nose. The eyebrows are blackened, and joined, so as to form one immense arch across the face, under the yellow brow. Is it possible to disguise the human countenance more completely?

The dark-blue cotton skirt of this lady was turned up behind over her head, so as to form a kind of hood; but underneath she wore a coloured petticoat. Generally, the women of Tintalous wear a frock, or chemise, and a piece of cotton wrapper over their head and shoulders.* This wrapper, which serves as a shawl, is not unlike, in effect, the black veil worn by the Maltese women. The lady we saw at En-Noor's wore a profusion of necklaces, armlets, and anklets of metal, wood, and horn. She gazed about for some time and then went her way. After asking and receiving permission to

* Answering to the gown and head-veil of the fellâhs.—Ed.

hoist the British flag over the tents, and to fire a salute, we imitated her example. This is my first success in diplomacy! On returning, we prepared for our evening's festivities, but the tempest assailing us we waited till fairer weather.

At five in the evening we hoisted the British flag, and fired no less than a hundred musket discharges. I do not recollect that this ceremony was ever before performed in the desert, in Bornou or Soudan, although the union-jack certainly now flies at Mourzuk and Ghadamez, on the roofs of the consular houses.

Now I pray God that our great troubles may be over in Aheer—little troubles we must always encounter, and bear with fortitude. Our servants and friends are much rejoiced at our success with En-Noor, and they promise me farther success in Soudan and Bornou. Alas! God alone knows what is reserved for us; but we must not despair after these events of Aheer. At first all was black, without one solitary ray of light; now, all the Sultans of Aheer are determined they say, conjointly, to afford us protection: whilst the people are showing themselves more friendly every day.

A strange thing is a devoted slave. Zangheema is the devoted slave of En-Noor. He is his right hand, his man of business, his vizier, his shadow, his second self. Alternately Zangheema attends the marts of Mourzuk and Kanou; and, fortunately for us, he is now going to Kanou.

25*th*.—Whilst we were occupied in drying our clothes after the previous day's tempest, we learned that another Sultan had put himself on the list of beggars. His Excellency Astakeelee of Asoudee has written a long letter to En-Noor, of which we are the subject. The substance is that it is a sin (*harâm*) to plunder us Christians. En-Noor says we must send him some trifle as a present. There remain yet to come Lousou and some others. I am glad we are not expected to give much in these cases, as our means would not allow us to do so. I sent to Astakeelee a red cloth caftan or long loose gown, a white turban, a fez, a small looking-glass, and a few cloves for the Sultana, the total value about twelve dollars.

Serious news has just come in from the northern frontier. It appears that the Azgher who followed us all the way from Aisou to Aheer, secretly exciting the people against us, have joined with the Kailouee borderers in an attack upon a small Tibboo caravan. Two of the merchants have been killed, and thirty-five slaves stolen and carried away over the desert, in the direction of Tuat.

This news was brought in the afternoon by a caravan of Fezzanees, who have arrived from Ghât. They declare that they buried the bodies of the two murdered men. A servant who escaped gave them the rest of the news. It is probable that the Tibboos made considerable resistance on the road, as they are brave fellows, and this resistance occa-

sioned their being murdered. The news has produced great excitement.

The people begin to see the evil effects of countenancing the forced exactions made upon us. This will be an instructive lesson to the holy marabouts of Tintaghoda, who headed the tribes of the frontier against us unfortunate Christians.

When we met these very small caravans on the road, with only two owners, three or four servants, and some forty or fifty slaves, and all without arms, or perhaps with only a couple of swords, I used to wonder at their apparent security, and could not help observing, when we were night and day pursued by bandits, "These robbers must have an extraordinary affection for Muslims, and be very Deists themselves; for these few defenceless people pass unmolested, and we are pursued continually, although our caravan is full of arms."

En-Noor and the new Sultan of Aghadez have been talking loudly of a razzia to the north; they will now see its absolute necessity, unless the route between Aheer and Ghât is to be closed, except for very large caravans.

The Fezzanees who left Ghât nineteen days after us also say that before they started the news had arrived there that the Christians were all murdered by the people of Janet. They add, besides, that they met Waldee at Tajetterat, together with the people of Janet, amounting to seventy maharees, all encamped there. If true, probably these were

the Tuaricks, with whom we were menaced at Taghajeet. The people of Janet were in pursuit of us. Waldee persuaded them to retrace their steps, declaring, which indeed was the truth, that the Christians were by that time arrived in the country of En-Noor, and were consequently beyond their pursuit. The bandits hearing this, immediately returned.

The Fezzanees praise the exertions which Waldee made on our behalf. Hereafter we shall be able, if we live, to verify this intelligence. It seems doubtful that the people of Janet should be nine days too late for us. However, our informants declare they gave the brigands victuals and a few presents.

I suppose that the grossly-exaggerated accounts which have been spread as to the vast sums that Hateetah and Wataitee got from us had much to do in getting up this fermentation in the desert of Ghât. We knew already that all the tribes and shiekhs were jealous of our escort. I must renew my application to Gagliuffi for the restitution of the property of the British Government; if not, the people who form the proposed razzia will divide it amongst themelves.

26*th*.—En-Noor has sent me word this morning that I may make myself quite at home in his city, and have nothing whatsoever to fear. Moreover, he begs to inform me that he has sent for our lost camels to the districts where they are supposed to

be detained, with a peremptory order, that if they are not immediately given up they are to be seized by force, and if not found, other camels are to be confiscated instead of them. This may be the first effect of the slaughter of the Tibboos. It is quite clear, however, that En-Noor is bound in honour to recover for us our lost beasts of burden; their detention must otherwise disgrace his authority.

As soon as a Moor or an Arab gains a little money, he begins in the first place to buy a new wife. The merchants, especially those who traverse the Sahara, have a wife and an establishment at all the principal cities. When they have half-a-dozen of these establishments they are then great men. Es-Sfaxee has gained a little money by our misfortunes, and he now begins to talk of buying a young slave for a wife, and what not, to attend him on the road. But no sailor, who sails the waters of the world through and through, and has a lass at every port, manages matters so well as the travelling Moorish merchant. This Moor has his comfortable home in every large city of the interior of Africa, and no one inquires whether he exceeds the number fixed by the law of the Prophet or not. Indeed, no one knows how many wives he has, or where they are.

Ferajee, of the escort, had a particular salutation, by which he used always to address me. It continues to be repeated by some of our people: "Othrub Gonsul! Fire off the gun, O Consul! Othrub

Gonsul!" This salute I always heard when Ferajee was in a good humour, and now it is used to signify that our affairs are looking up.

According to a Tanelkum, Janet is entirely peopled by Azgher or Ghât Tuaricks, and members of the tribe of Aheethanaran, who now live on good terms with the Azgher. This tribe is scattered about as far as Falezlez. It was the people of the same tribe who formed a razzia expedition against us. The oasis of Janet, however, is not independent. It is subject to Shafou; but has a local government of its own.

Every day brings the news of a new razzia. This morning it is reported that some brigands of Oulimid who inhabit a district beyond Aghadez, came down upon the people of Aghadamou, a place five days from Tintalous, on the route of Soudan, destroyed their houses, and carried away a great number of their camels. Aghadamou is represented to be a wady, with a number of huts scattered about. I had not heard of this place before as being on the Soudan route.

In the afternoon En-Noor walked out, and came up to me and saluted me. As I passed by his highness I had an opportunity of noticing his dress. He wore over the body a plain blue-checked Soudan tobe, with trousers of a similar material; on his head was a red cap bound round with a blue-black bandage (turkadee), in the form of a turban, but also brought, according to the invariable custom of

the Tuaricks, over and under the eyes. His shoes were the common Soudan sandals; and thus, with a long wand, or a white stick, he proceeded with a slow-measured pace through the streets of the town. A dependant followed the Sultan at a short distance, but the absence of an escort proclaimed how deep-rooted was his authority.

To-day, for the first time, En-Noor sent to buy something of us, viz. a loaf of white sugar. As Overweg is going to Asoudee under the protection of En-Noor, I gave him the loaf of sugar, and told him to send it, on his part, as a present to the Sheikh, and at the same time to ask him to get his escort ready.

The Fezzanees call the Milky Way, which appears at this season nearly overhead early in the evening, "the road of the dates," it being now the time in which the dates ripen.

Late in the evening a troop of twenty maharees came riding straight up to our tents. Although none of our people were gone to bed, although all were up and about talking, not a single person saw them coming but myself; and I only saw—none of us heard, so noiselessly did they steal over the sand. This troop merely came in to bait for the night. They, however, brought some person with them who is about to be married to a woman of Tintalous.

27*th.*—I rose early, having slept little on account of noises of various sorts, which continued

all night long. First, there was a drum perpetually beating, announcing rudely enough the approaching nuptials; then there was a cricket singing shrill notes at my head; and then there was the screech-owl making the valley of Tintalous ring again with its hideous shriek. Add to all, between the roll of the big noisy drum, the cries and uproar of the people. This morning there are groups of people squatting all about. Two maharees are riding round and round one group. Before another is a man dancing as indelicately as a Moorish woman of the coast.

News of still another razzia ushers in the day. A small caravan, it is reported, was attacked a few days ago, on the route between this and Zinder. The principal merchant was killed, and all the goods and slaves carried away. The few agents now in Tintalous see clearly that this route will become, for the future, safe only for large caravans. En-Noor says of the villages which were attacked by the tribe of Oulimid, that the people must have been chickens not to have defended themselves; but the fact is, the whole country is now, to a certain extent, abandoned to the pillage of lawless banditti.

In the evening the people contrived to celebrate the preliminaries of the approaching nuptials. The bride, I now find, is no less a personage than the daughter of En-Noor,—a full-grown desert princess. The Sfaxee and several other foreign mer-

chants fired in the evening salutes in honour of the occasion. The drum was again kept beating all night, accompanied again by the crickets and the screech-owl. Oh for a quiet sleep!

28*th.*—Late in the evening another troop of twenty maharees came to visit En-Noor, and assist at the nuptials. They were known at some distance by the jingling of the bells, which are always worn on their camels on such occasions. The drumming was kept up again the greater part of the night, the screech-owl and crickets joining the discord as before.

29*th.*—Several of our people have recently been unwell, Yusuf amongst the rest. They take little care of themselves, and attribute their illness to the ghaseb. I expect we shall have them all ill in Soudan.

Early this morning I found Ibrahim, servant of the Germans, holding in his hand and playing with a huge scorpion, which he had caught near the tents. He seemed to have fatigued it so much that it could not sting. It kept, indeed, always striking with its tail, but very feebly. Its head was not at all prominently brought forward out of its body, and it looked as if it had no head at all. It had ten legs. I told Ibrahim that he was a marabout, at which he was greatly flattered.

The twenty maharees have joined the nuptial festivities this morning. A number of women are squatting in a group on the ground, and the men

mounted on their camels are riding round and round them, sometimes in single file, and at other times in two's and two's. Whilst this is going on, another mounted party gallops up one by one to the group from a short distance. All this is done to the sound of rude noisy drums. I have not heard any songs, or seen any other species of music but this drum. There are, however, several drums of different sizes, and producing various noises. They are made of wood and with bullocks' hide.

The women loo-loo as on the coast, and both men and women dance; not exactly as the negroes do, but still somewhat indelicately. Hamma, who commanded our escort, has returned from visiting his friends.

The Tanelkums report that Hamma is something like Achilles, for he has often been wounded, having been in many battles, but none of his wounds have ever proved fatal, or even much incommoded him.

It would seem that Tintalous, like all the Tuarick countries, is a miserably poor place; for it is said that none, or very few, of the people in the town have a fire for cooking their *bazeen*, except the great En-Noor himself. The time, however, approaches for the departure of the caravans for Zinder, whence they bring back a great quantity of ghaseb and samen.

A Haghar, or Ghât Tuarick, I know not which, came into my tent this morning and behaved very

insolently. Amongst other antics, he took up a gun. I immediately wrested it out of his hands and sent him out of the tent. Yusuf was present, but, as usual, showed little spirit.

My blacks were taken aback at my treating a Haghar in this cavalier way; but I observe that they are now more cautious in permitting strangers to enter my tent. The day before I turned a saucy Kailouee out, and my servants begin to understand that I will not be pestered more with these people, and so they keep them off. This is my only plan, for I have told them a hundred times not to allow strangers to come and molest my privacy.

30*th*.—The noisy drums have ceased, and most of the Targhee visitors have departed. The people, however, still bring news of razzias, Kailouees with Kailouees. A messenger has returned with his report about the boat; it is quite safe and in good hands, at Seloufeeat.

A caravan arrived yesterday from Ghât, and reports that Wataitee had returned to that place and brought reassuring news respecting us. Behind is coming another caravan, in which is some Moor from Tripoli. Probably this person will bring news or letters. From the report of Ibrahim, the Germans' servant, it would seem that the people of Tintalous believe that Christians eat human beings; and further, from what I hear, this strange prejudice possesses the minds of the lower classes in many countries of Soudan. Such are the opinions of the semi-barbarians of

Africa respecting us and our boasted civilisation! There is much to be done yet in the world before mankind know one another, and acknowledge one another as brethren.

En-Noor sent word this morning that he and his friends, the Sultans of Asoudee and Aghadez, had combined a razzia against the people of Tidek and Taghajeet, who had plundered us on the road; and that fifty maharees had gone to execute their purposes. This is the expedition which has been long talked of: we shall see its results. Dr. Barth is making arrangements for going to Aghadez.

I have prepared a draft of a treaty, which Yusuf, who accompanies Barth, will take with him. I have also made a selection of presents for the Sultan of Aghadez.

There is now an immense movement throughout all the Kailouee country. It is supposed that the razzia for the west has other ulterior objects besides merely chastising the Fadeea and people of Tidek for plundering us. The power of En-Noor more and more developes itself. He seems to be determined to take every opportunity to consolidate it.

*Oct.* 1*st*.—Yesterday evening I saw the first drove of bullocks in this country; it belonged to En-Noor. Overweg made a bet with me that En-Noor would give us one of these animals to-day. I took his bet of twelve small Aheer cheeses against his six, and won; for the greedy old dog has sent us no bullock. This morning a man offers me a

draught bullock for sale. The price demanded is fifteen metagals of this country, two and a-half of which are equal to a Spanish dollar. He lowered his price to eight, and the blacks offered seven, but eight were at last given. One of our people mounted the naked back of the bullock, and rode him as quietly and easily as a little pony.

# NOTE

ON THE

# TERRITORIAL DIVISION OF AHEER OR ASBEN.

In the text, a list of towns and villages has already been given. The following, obtained from another source subsequently, is far more complete, and probably more correct. In it the towns and districts are all described according to their situation from Tintalous, the point from which they are made to radiate, both with regard to their compass direction and distance. This account of the territorial division of Aheer is nearly an exact translation from an Arabic paper, drawn up by Mahommed Makhlouk, Fighi and Secretary of the Sultan En-Noor. I have not distinguished any of the emphatic letters, the present transcript being enough for my purpose.

## Western Division.

| | Distance. | No. of Men. |
|---|---|---|
| Satartar, N.W. .. .. .. | 3 hours. | 100 |
| Takardaee .. .. .. | 3 h. | 30 |

| | Distance. | No. of Men. |
|---|---|---|
| Akeeka .. .. .. .. | 4 hours | 20 |
| Asoudaee, S.S.W. .. .. | 6 h. | 120 |
| Tagharet .. .. .. | 6 h. | 50 |
| Tshagadmara .. .. .. | 6 h. | 20 |
| Ebenturaghak .. .. .. | 8 h. | 30 |
| Tugurut .. .. .. | 10 h. | 30 |
| Tshemeya .. .. .. | 8 h. | 100 |
| Edaka .. .. .. .. | 2 days | 150 |
| Taleghat .. .. .. .. | 2 d. | 50 |
| Agata .. .. .. .. | 2 d. | 50 |
| Tegheedda .. .. .. | 1 d. | 20 |
| Agalal .. .. .. .. | 1½ d. | 100 |
| Eretawa .. .. .. | 2 d. | 50 |
| Ghargàr—Dandamu .. .. | 2 d. | 50 |
| Yinwajuda .. .. .. | 3 hours | 40 |
| Tandawee .. .. .. | 5 days | 50 |
| Baeenabu .. .. .. | 5 d. | 50 |
| Sakalmas .. .. .. | 6 d. | 30 |
| Egadas (Aghadez) | | |
| Banfalas .. .. .. | 6 hours | 20 |
| Tanwansa .. .. .. | 6 h. | 15 |
| Tingareegaree .. .. .. | 6 h. | 10 |
| Asaduragam .. .. .. | 6 h. | 50 |
| Areera .. .. .. | 6 h. | 30 |
| Tshezoulah .. .. .. | 1 day | 15 |
| Esalel .. .. .. .. | 1 d. | 30 |
| Tagurat .. .. .. .. | 1½ d. | 30 |
| Abarakam .. .. .. | 1½ d. | 30 |
| Tshemeleen .. .. .. | 1½ d. | 30 |
| Egalak .. .. .. .. | 1 d. | 50 |
| Tshummuru .. .. .. | 1 d. | 50 |
| Tadanak .. .. .. | 1 d. | 20 |
| Asada .. .. .. .. | 2 d. | 50 |

| | Distance. | No. of Men. |
|---|---|---|
| Bawas .. .. .. .. | 1½ days | 40 |
| Taoudaras .. .. .. | 3 d. | 40 |
| Tafaraghat .. .. .. | 3 d. | 40 |
| Shintaburag .. .. .. | 4 d. | 30 |
| Tasouba .. .. .. | 4 d. | 30 |
| Emalaoulee .. .. .. | 5 d. | 50 |

## Northern Division.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Tamgag .. .. .. .. | 2 days | 300 |
| Takamas .. .. .. | 1 d. | 50 |
| Zeggagheen .. .. .. | 2 d. | 100 |
| Zalaelat .. .. .. .. | 2 d. | 300 |
| Tadag .. .. .. .. | 3 hours | 50 |
| Tintabourak .. .. .. | 3 days | 100 |
| Tafadad .. .. .. | 4 d. | 50 |
| Esnalam .. .. .. .. | 4 d. | 50 |
| Safes .. .. .. .. | 2 d. | 100 |
| Tagut .. .. .. .. | 6 hours | 20 |
| Takurnaraghat .. .. .. | 1 day | 70 |
| Aberkam .. .. .. | 1 d. | 40 |
| Tanutmulat .. .. .. | 1 d. | 30 |
| Tintaghoda, N.W. .. .. | 2 d. | 200 |
| Efruwan .. .. .. | 2 d. | 100 |
| Takreza .. .. .. | 2 d. | 60 |
| Kalfadäee, N.W. .. .. | 4 d. | 500 |
| Fadaee, N.W. .. .. .. | 4 d. | 400 |
| Tidek, N.N.W. (a Wady) .. | 3½ d. | |
| Wadekee .. .. .. | 1 d. | 20 |
| Anumagaran .. .. .. | 2 d. | 150 |
| Asarara, N.N.W. .. .. | 2 hours | 30 |
| Bungutan .. .. .. | 2 days | 150 |
| Tadoudawat .. .. .. | 2 d. | 100 |

| | Distance. | No. of Men. |
|---|---|---|
| Bakerzuk .. .. .. | 1 day | 20 |
| Azutu .. .. .. .. | 4 d. | 50 |
| Edukal .. .. .. .. | 2 d. | 80 |
| Agargar .. .. .. | 6 hours | 50 |
| Foudet .. .. .. .. | 6 h. | 20 |
| Maghet .. .. .. .. | 1 day | 40 |
| Tshafouak .. .. .. | 1 d. | 20 |
| Egatram .. .. .. | 1 d. | 20 |
| Seloufeeat, N.W. .. .. | 2 d. | 150 |
| Tafkun .. .. .. .. | 2 d. | 100 |
| Agalal .. .. .. .. | 2 d. | 100 |
| Dellan .. .. .. .. | 4 d. | 400 |
| Ekroun, N. .. .. .. | 8 hours | 60 |

## Eastern Division.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aghoua, N.E. .. .. .. | 8 hours | 50 |
| Amuzan (N.E. Three places adjoining.) | 7 h. | 100 |
| Amuzeen | 7 h. | 20 |
| Amuzzan | 7 h. | 10 |
| Azanghaeedan .. .. .. | 8 h. | 40 |
| Efarghar .. .. .. | 8 h. | 20 |
| Tazaranet (date palms) .. .. | 1 day | 40 |
| Aghaglee .. .. .. | 1 d. | 30 |
| Tshintajaee .. .. .. | 1 d. | 100 |
| Kalawazaee .. .. .. | 1 d. | 15 |
| Eyangal .. .. .. .. | 1 d. | 20 |
| Ajin-Yeeris .. .. .. | 1 d. | 100 |
| Afara .. .. .. .. | 1 d. | 20 |
| Tafusas .. .. .. .. | 1 d. | 10 |
| Zagadaou, S.E. .. .. .. | 1 d. | 50 |
| Tshintagheedeen .. .. | 1 d. | 100 |
| Maddad ? | | |

| | Distance. | No. of Men. |
|---|---|---|
| Tansumat .. .. .. | 1 hour | 10 |
| Alerasa .. .. .. .. | 2 days | 30 |
| Elakaran .. .. .. | 1 d. | 20 |
| Tezreerà .. .. .. | 2 d. | 20 |
| Azaneeras, N.E. .. .. | 1 or 2 d. | 250 or 60 |
| Tanasuma / Tanousamet } One place? .. | 6 hours | 10 |
| Talaou, E.W.E. .. .. .. | 6 h. | no people |
| Bukezan, N.E. .. .. .. | 8 h. | 15 |
| Atas .. .. .. .. | 1 day | 100 |
| Thaweezawa .. .. .. | 1 d. | 10 |
| Tagaee .. .. .. .. | 1 d. | 20 |
| Touweezawan .. .. .. | 1 d. | 40 |
| Elabag .. .. .. .. | 1 d. | 30 |
| Ebul? | | |
| Tagumarat .. .. .. | 1 d. | 100 |
| Gutag .. .. .. .. | 1 d. | 20 |
| Tadakeet .. .. .. | 1 d. | 30 |
| Aghazar-Nanou, S.E. .. .. | 1 d. | 20 |
| Azar .. .. .. .. | 1 d. | 100 |
| Aghammelaee .. .. .. | 1 d. | 30 |
| Zanwazgar .. .. .. | 2 hours | 10 |
| Thintaghalee .. .. .. | 1 day | 10 |
| Talaeeshena .. .. .. | 1 d. | 10 |
| Shafazres .. .. .. | 2 d. | 20 |

SOUTHERN DIVISION.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Shouwerkedan .. .. .. | 2 days | 30 |
| Atakaee or Tatakaee .. .. | 3 d. | 30 |
| Dagergadu .. .. .. | 1 d. | * |
| Aganjam .. .. .. | 2 d. | * |
| Baren Tafeedee .. .. | 4 d. | * |

| | Distance. | No. of Men. |
|---|---|---|
| Ajeewa .. .. .. .. | 4 days | * |
| Tableel .. .. .. .. | 3 d. | * |
| Asawee .. .. .. .. | 3 d. | * |
| Amzagar .. .. .. | 4 d. | * |
| Takarakum .. .. .. | 4 d. | * |
| Tsheezan-Tarakat .. .. | 2 d. | * |
| Arakam .. .. .. | 3 d. | * |
| Tshekousat .. .. .. | 3 d. | * |
| Emugazem .. .. .. | 4 d. | * |
| Taraten .. .. .. .. | 4 d. | * |
| Tazeezalaeet .. .. .. | 4 d. | * |
| Efaee .. .. .. .. | 4 d. | * |
| Tshublaghlaghah .. .. | 4 d. | * |
| Mairee .. .. .. .. | 2 d. | 20 |
| Baouwat .. .. .. | 3 d. | 40 |
| Taghoura .. .. .. | 4 d. | 100 |
| Rasma .. .. .. .. | 3 d. | 30 |
| Afaraghab .. .. .. | 3 d. | 40 |
| Gursed .. .. .. .. | 3 d. | 30 |
| Shekareshoureen .. .. | 2 d. | 20 |
| Bomdaee .. .. .. | 2 hours | 30 |
| Jintalewat .. .. .. | 1 day | 20 |
| Tshinwanou .. .. .. | 1 d. | 50 |
| Gazawa .. .. .. | 2 d. | 10 |
| Talazeghreen .. .. .. | 2 d. | 1000 |
| Afasas .. .. .. .. | 3 d. | 1000 |
| Efoutsham .. .. .. | 2 d. | no people |
| Tuburneet (a well) .. .. | 2 d. | |
| Tammanee .. .. .. | 2 d. | 100 |
| Takarzarga .. .. .. | 4 hours | 15 |
| Anakkara .. .. .. | 2 days | 100 |
| Tshinkeewa .. .. .. | 2 d. | 20 |
| Wallag .. .. .. .. | 2 d. | 100 |

| | Distance. | No. of Men. |
|---|---|---|
| Ekrenusoul .. .. .. | 2 days | 60 |
| Aghargharan-Tulama .. .. | 3 d. | 40 |
| Wuna .. .. .. .. | 4 d. | 100 |
| Ajeeru-Taleya .. .. .. | 3 d. | 200 |
| Barghut .. .. .. .. | 4 d. | 40 |
| Asaba .. .. .. .. | 4 d. | 30 |
| Takraoukaraou .. .. .. | 4 d. | 30 |
| Tourayal .. .. .. | 5 d. | 100 |
| Ekourak .. .. .. | 6 d. | 40 |
| Bagazem, S.W. .. .. .. | 4 d. | 380 |
| Taghaoujee .. .. .. | 7 d. | 600 |
| Nagharabu .. .. .. | 2 d. | no people |
| Enfasag .. .. .. | 3 d. | 100 |
| Tshegayeen .. .. .. | 3 d. | 40 |
| Tagbata .. .. .. .. | 4 d. | 15 |
| Nabaraou .. .. .. | 4 d. | 100 |
| Azangarran .. .. .. | 3 d. | no people |
| Anfag .. .. .. .. | 4 d. | 200 |
| Ekuffawan .. .. .. | 4 d. | 20 |
| Ataghas-Tawarat .. .. | 4 d. | 100 |
| Aghalgawa .. .. .. | 4 d. | no people |
| Egloulaf, S.W. .. .. .. | 6 hours | 200 |

In the places marked with a star there are no inhabitants, the people having emigrated to Bornou, or been captured and carried thither.

The number of men, or adult males enumerated in the above columns, amounts to 12,731. Taking this number as the foundation-stone of Asbenouee statistics, the population may be reckoned in this way, according to the manners of the Kailouee people:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Adult males .. .. .. .. .. | 12,731 |
| Adult females (wives) .. .. .. .. | 12,731 |
| Female slaves or concubines (a fifth of the adult) | 5,000 |
| Children (two for every adult male) .. .. | 25,462 |
| Town of Tintalous .. .. .. .. | 450 |
| City of Aghadez .. .. .. .. | 2,500 |
| | 58,874 |

There are still remaining to be added in the computation the statistics of numerous tribes on the frontiers, or surrounding Aheer and Aghadez.

END OF VOL. I.

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